



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Preliminary Results

Details of Vote on Constitution Reported

PM1312164193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14
Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandra Lugovskaya: "All Is Well With the Constitution As Far As Russia Is Concerned; Problems With Parliament Foreseen"]

[Text] Vyacheslav Zagulyayev, head of the special Central Electoral Commission headquarters, described as guesswork the figures on the preliminary results of voting on 12 December announced on the television program greeting the "political new year."

On the afternoon of 13 December the Central Electoral Commission published the first official information containing the preliminary results of the vote.

Number of registered voters in the Russian Federation—105,284,000.

Number of people who voted—55,987,000, or 53.2 percent.

Number of votes in favor of the adoption of the Russian Federation Constitution—29,337,000, or around 60 percent of those who voted.

On the basis of preliminary data from the regions, V. Zagulyayev picked out three leaders from the electoral associations: "Russia's Choice," the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

All Central Electoral Commission services will spend 10 days processing the returns from district electoral commissions round the clock. So Russia will know the composition of the new parliament 20 days before the date set by the statute on the elections.

The headquarters, comprising 10 working groups, has a vast amount of work to do. After the district electoral commissions have cabled their preliminary election results—they are received in Moscow by Central Telegraph staff and by a post office communications section—the official returns will be delivered to the Central Electoral Commission by courier within two or three days.

Stage two involves logging and interpreting the packages of documents with the aid of computer operators and experts enlisted from the State Committee for Statistics. The processing of information will fall into three categories: the vote on the federal list for the elections to the State Duma and on single-seat districts, on the elections to the Federation Council, and the results of the referendum on the Constitution, which will be summed up separately. None of the information is for publication. It goes direct to the members of the Central Electoral Commission. Stage three is the drawing up of lists of deputies and the preparation of personal dossiers and other election-related documents for subsequent transfer to the credentials commissions of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly. Special files will

contain the district electoral commission election returns and candidate registration documents, their record cards, the candidates' statements agreeing to run in particular electoral districts, and the dissenting opinions of members of electoral commissions.

The election arbitration and normative document preparation department is prepared to examine complaints that arose on voting day, 12 December. It is also responsible for legally validating the election results.

A session of the Central Electoral Commission on the preliminary results of the voting is provisionally set for 15 December.

Official information will go from the Central Electoral Commission to three destinations in the following sequence: Russian Federation president, government, media. President B. Yeltsin's first meeting with Central Electoral Commission Chairman N. Ryabov took place 13 December. But no details are known as yet.

Results, Turnout From Russians in Other Countries

Black Sea Fleet Vote Counted

WS1412131193 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian
1630 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Some 12,000 Black Sea Fleet servicemen took part in the elections for the Russian State Council. Ukrainian citizens serving in the fleet did not participate in the elections. The Liberal Democratic Party was victorious receiving 19 percent of the votes. The Choice of Russia bloc came second with 11 percent of the votes, and the Russian Communist Part was third with 6.5 percent. About 46 percent of the voters cast ballots against all party lists. Vladimir Kvasov, Russian Council of Ministers business manager was the winner from the territorial lists.

Servicemen in Tajikistan Support LDPR

LD1312201493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Up to 43.4% of Russian servicemen stationed in Tajikistan have voted for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party, 11.4% for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, 7.3% for the bloc Russia's Choice, and 5.4% for the Party of Russian Unity and Concord. A total of 77.2% of servicemen and members of their families registered on the electors' lists have participated in the elections.

As many as 79% voted for Russia's Constitution. Commenting the voting results, Colonel Ivan Malevich, head of the press center of Tajikistan-based Collective Peace-Keeping Forces' joint command, said that "there is no surprise in these results." In his words, "beginning with Mikhail Gorbachev the politicians placed the army as a scapegoat; the same situation has been peculiar to all 'hot spots.'"

First results indicate that 56% of Kaliningrad and its region's residents (Russia's far west) participated in the

elections and referendum. Half of the electors voted for Russia's first Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko who had run for the Federation Council, one third for the head of the regional administration Yuriy Matochkin.

Preliminary results demonstrate that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party, which collected 29.1% of votes, prevails among the election blocs.

According to preliminary data, the Liberal Democratic Party (21%) leads among all election blocs in the Republic of Komi (Russia's north-west). A total of 19% voted for the bloc Russia's Choice. The bloc Russia's Women has received 11%, Communist Party, Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc and Party of Russian Unity and Concord have collected 6% each.

Russians in Turkmenistan Support Zhirinovskiy

LD1412132993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1216 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] During the December-12 voting 38.45% of Russian citizens living in Turkmenistan expressed their support for the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. Russia's Choice collected 13.14% of the votes, and the Russian Communist Party - 11.5%.

74.25% of electors voted for Russia's new constitution and 23.96% - against it.

Given the fact that officers and members of their families make up a majority of Russian citizens in Turkmenistan, supervisors make the conclusion that approximately 70-75% of Russian servicemen support Zhirinovskiy's party. Supervisors also believe that Zhirinovskiy's statement on the necessity to protect Russian citizens in the former Soviet republics played an important role in their choice.

Servicemen in Turkmenistan Vote

MK1412100093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 2

[Igor Zhukov report from Turkmenistan under the "Diaspora" rubric: "Most Russians in Turkmenistan Chose To Abstain. Those Who Did Turn Out Voted for LDPR"]

[Text] The turnout of Russian citizens in Turkmenistan (primarily officers and members of their families) for the parliamentary elections and the constitutional referendum proved to be much lower than expected. Scarcely 3,000 out of the potential 12,000 voters bothered to come to polling stations.

A total of 40 percent voted for candidates of the Liberal-Democratic Party [LDP], 13.5 percent backed "Russia's Choice," and 11 percent voted the Russian Communist Party into the Duma.

When asked by SEGODNYA to comment on the election results, members of the district electoral commission, which was set up at the Russian Embassy in Ashgabat, conceded that for the most part the figures reflected the degree to which Russian servicemen and their relatives

residing in Turkmenistan lost confidence in the current Russian leaders. Officers still feel isolated. Rare trips by government officials or Russian Defense Ministry commanders to the republic have not had any significant impact on their plight and have not helped resolve their numerous problems. The latter include the uncertainty regarding the status of border troops officers serving in Turkmenistan, the fact that the contract system for army officers has not yet been perfected, and also the virtual impossibility of exchanging the local currency—the manat—for Russian rubles.

Probably, most of these problems may be resolved during the official visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Turkmenistan scheduled for the last 10 days of December, but judging by these elections, Russian citizens do not have high hopes in that regard.

High Turnout in Armenia

LD1412071193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] According to preliminary data, approximately 80 percent of Russian citizens living in Armenia took part in the elections on 12 December. This was reported to the SNARK agency by Vladimir Stupishin, ambassador of the Russian Federation. According to him, the Russia's Choice Bloc received the most votes. Approximately 80 percent of the voters expressed support for the constitution.

Narva Election Results

WS1312132993 Tallinn BNS in English 0944 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] NARVA, Estonia, Dec 13, BNS—About 4,000 of Narva's 11,000 Russian citizens participated in the Russian constitutional referendum and general election Sunday [12 December].

According to tentative election results, ultranationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party got 59 percent of the votes in Narva. The same report shows the Russian Communist Party was next with 15.7 percent, and the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, with 6.4 percent. The remaining 10 lists of candidates failed to gain the required 5 percent votes minimum in Narva.

Russian citizen voters in Narva also expressed strong opposition to the new constitutional project, which got only 40 percent of the votes. If the trend had been the same all over Russia, the constitution would have been voted down.

Turnout was low also in the town of Jaanilinn/Ivangorod despite efforts to lure voters to polling stations. Reports say signs were hung on the doors of voting offices in Jaanilinn saying cheap sugar was on sale on the premises Dec. 12.

Russians Vote Against Constitution

WS1412123393 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1733 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, 13 December—Russian citizens in Estonia who participated at parliamentary elections and referendum on new constitution voted against the constitution, Vassiliy Ostapchuk, an advisor to Russia's embassy in Tallinn, told ETA.

34.5 per cent (3,331 people) voted in favour while 65.5 per cent (6,325) was against the constitution.

All in all, 9,886 people participated while 5,908 cast their votes in Tallinn and 3,978 in border town Narva.

59 per cent cast their ballots for the ultra-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party, the Estonian Foreign Ministry informed.

The turn-out was low as less than one fourth of Russia's citizens participated in the elections.

As of December 1, there were 41,489 Russian citizens in Estonia while around 17,000 have opted for Estonian citizenship.

Citizens in Latvia Participate

WS1412120893 Tallinn BNS in English 1338 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 13, BNS—Around 6,000 of Latvia's Russian citizens participated in the Russian parliament election and the constitutional referendum Sunday [12 December].

In total, 23,000 Russian citizens have registered themselves in Latvia, said Vladimir Yonkin, a spokesman for the Russian Embassy.

The ballot was held in a military school in Riga, which represented the only in Latvia ballot-station for private persons.

Several other stations were prepared for Russian military and their family members.

The electors had to produce their Soviet passports with a mark of Russian citizenship in it or respectively marked travel passports.

The majority of electors was poorly informed about the candidates and their pre-election programs, but they "fulfilled their duty of citizens" by voting "intuitively," said Yonkin.

The voters themselves said they could mostly get one-sided, pro- Yeltsin information in Latvia. The information vacuum was aggravated by the shortage of Russian newspapers here, speakers said.

Most voters said they supported President Boris Yeltsin. Some said they voted for the Communists because they

believed "Ilyhin, Sevastyanov and Juganov" would "promote the interests of the Russian people, while Yeltsin and the others were likely to back nouveaux riches, millionaires and profiteers."

Many people complained that the ballot-station was situated in a hard-to-reach place. It could have effected the number of voters, they said.

The election was also missed by rural dwellers who could not afford the long way to Riga and ill or disabled people who could not leave home. The embassy lacked personnel to provide for voting at home, said Yonkin.

Further on Latvian Vote

LD1312173893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] According to the Russian Embassy in Latvia, 3,762 Russian citizens took part in the elections that took place in Riga on 12 December. Some 691 of them voted for the draft of the new constitution, and 3,042 voted against [figures as heard].

From the lists of parties, the Russian Communist Party gained the largest support, with 1,855 votes. Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party comes second with 1,226 votes. The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc follows them with only 138 votes. Others got even smaller voter support.

Individuals Named as Winning Seats in Parliament

Former Members Return

LD1412132393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1215 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] According to the preliminary results of vote counting, Interfax obtained from the information center under the Russian president, a considerable number of the former Supreme Soviet members of different political orientations will return to Russia's new legislature.

Those elected to the State Duma include Nikolay Gen (Syktyvkar, the Smena-New Policy faction), Aleksandr Dzasokhov (North Ossetia, Sovereignty and Equality), Valentin Agafonov (former deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet), Svetlana Umetskaya (Krasnoarmeyskiy electoral district, Radical Democrats), Sergey Baburin (Omsk, the Russia faction).

Those elected in Kaluga Region include the Social Security Minister, Ella Panfilova, a leading member of Russian Choice, and in Penza Region Viktor Ilyukhin, a leading member of the Communist Party. Russia's Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev, collected 74% of the vote in Murmansk; Deputy Finance Minister Alexander Pochinok, also former Supreme Soviet member, collected 54% of the vote in Magnitogorsk.

In Belgorod the former head of the local administration, Valentin Berestovoy, who was dismissed by the president for vigorously supporting the Supreme Soviet during last October's rebellion, collected 100% of the vote.

In Zayeltsovky District in Novosibirsk the chairman of the People's Party of Free Russia, Vasiliy Lipitskiy, defeated his rival narrowly.

In Schelkovskiy District the parliamentary race was won by the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

Voters in Smolensk Region elected the former chairman of the Soviet Union's legislature, a leading plotter of the August 1991 coup, Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Starodubtsev, Agafonov, Nevzorov Elected

LD1312203293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Chairman of the Russian Agrarian Union Vasiliy Starodubtsev, currently on trial as a member of State of Emergency Committee (August 1991 coup plotters), who had run for the State Duma from the Tula constituency No. 71, received the required number of votes.

The Agrarian Party's presidium announced that one other candidate from the party, former Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Committee on Development of the Agrarian and Industrial Complex and later Deputy Speaker Valentin Agafonov had won the elections to the State Duma in Chuvashia.

Former Russian People's Deputy, leader of the parliamentary bloc Russian Unity Vladimir Isakov, who had stood for the elections to the State Duma from the Sverdlovsk region's single-mandate constituency, failed to receive the required number of votes. However, the Agrarian Party's presidium affirms that his entrance to the new parliament was 100 percent-guaranteed since he is the 14th in the single federal ticket and the party has overcome the 5 percent barrier.

Former First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Yuriy Voronin, who had been the party's candidate to the State Duma, received fewer votes in Tatarstan than his rival Vladimir Belyayev.

According to more precise information from the Coordinating group for organization of the elections in St. Petersburg, TV reporter Aleksandr Nevzorov, well known for his right wing nationalist views, won the elections to the State Duma in the 210th single-mandate constituency in St. Petersburg. Nevzorov received 3000 more votes than his contender.

Nazdratenko Gains Victory in Maritime Kray

OW1412095393 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 2010 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From the "Good Morning Vladivostok" program]

[Text] The election results make us think it is not only trust in Yevgeniy Ivanovich Nazdratenko, the head of the kray administration, to represent the interests of Maritime Kray in the Federation Council, but also an expression of our trust in him and his team as well as in the economic policy which has yet to be implemented. These are not

merely words. In the most remote rayons—such as Terneyskiy, Olginskiy, Kavalerovskiy, and Dalnegorskiy—where people have not received wages for two or three months, more than 90 percent of the population voted for Governor Nazdratenko.

This can only mean one thing—we, the residents of Maritime Kray, have made our choice.

Results Continue To Be Reported From Regions

Maritime Kray

OW1412104493 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 2010 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Interview with Igor Petrovich Lebedinets, deputy head of Maritime Kray administration, by Tatyana Bogatikova; place and date not given; from the "Good Morning Vladivostok" program—recorded]

[Text] [Bogatikova] Igor Petrovich, you have been here for almost two days, but your spirits seem high; is it because you have the election results in hand?

[Lebedinets] I have just received the results from the counting machine, so I am happy. Maritime Kray inhabitants voted 70.53 percent for the constitution.

[Bogatikova] How many votes in total?

[Lebedinets] In all 51, let us say 52 percent. Further, I would like to tell you that 68.71 percent voted for Nazdratenko; however, in 90 percent of the districts more than 90 percent voted for him. (Losinovich) received 14 percent of the votes, Gayr received 35 percent, and Yefimov 31 percent. The machine is still counting the Litvinov and Gayr votes, and we will know tomorrow. However, I think Yevdokiya Aleksandrovna Gayr will get elected.

[Bogatikova] So, you consider the figures on the constitution and Yevgeniy Ivanovich Nazdratenko as final?

[Lebedinets] Possibly. But if revised, they will be revised upwards. We were told today there are no higher voting figures on the constitution and the head of the administration in the whole of Russia.

[Bogatikova] How were our votes distributed among the parties?

[Lebedinets] What can I tell you? I do not really want to tell you, however, what can one do? These figures are fact. Zhirinovskiy received 22.7 percent; Women of Russia—I would have liked it if Women of Russia were in first place, however they did receive 14 percent; Russia's Choice, 12.2 percent; and the Communist Party of Russia, 8.6 percent.

[Bogatikova] Igor Petrovich, we know this is the latest information, however, when can we expect the final results?

[Lebedinets] There should not be any changes to these figures. However, we will get the final results tomorrow morning.

[Bogatikova] The final results on all indices?

[Lebedinets] Yes, on all. [end recording]

St Petersburg, Krasnodar

LD1312185693 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1715 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] [no dateline as received]—The preliminary results of the elections to the Federal Assembly for St. Petersburg have become known. Among the parties and blocs which have passed the 5 percent mark, "Russia's Choice" comes first with 25-30 percent of the votes of St. Petersburg people. Immediately behind comes the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc with 20-25 percent. The Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia collected 12-14 percent of the vote. Next come the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

Krasnodar: In the Kuban nearly 2 million people took part in the elections, amounting to some 55 percent of the electorate. The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from unofficial sources that among the party blocs so far the Communist Party is in the lead, with Zhirinovskiy's party in second place.

According to preliminary information, Nikolay Yegorov, the 42 year-old head of administration of Krasnodar Kray, has been elected deputy to the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly. A politician of a different orientation, independent candidate Nikolay Kondratenko, was also elected by Kuban people to the upper house of parliament.

Bryansk: It was announced at the district electoral commission that Yuriy Lodkin, former head of the oblast administration and a people's deputy of the Russian Federation, received 58.5 percent of the votes in the elections to the Federation Council, considerably outstripping Vladimir Karpov, who replaced him in the post of governor and who collected 29.3 percent of the votes. A representative of the opposition also became a second deputy to the Federation Council for Bryansk Oblast—Major General Petr Shirshov, former chairman of Bryansk Town Soviet, who was removed, like Yuriy Lodkin, for opposing Decree 1400. Among the political blocs, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia is in the lead, obtaining 27.4 percent of the vote. It is followed by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (18.4 percent) and "Russia's Choice." In the referendum on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation, less than half of those taking part in the voting expressed support for the new Basic Law.

Lipetsk: The draft of the new constitution, according to the preliminary figures of the district electoral commission, did not find support in Lipetsk Oblast. Nearly 57.6 percent of the electors voted against it. Especially sharp rejection of this document was expressed by rural inhabitants. Most of the support for Zhirinovskiy's party is due to them, incidentally. This party received nearly 30 percent of the vote in the elections in Lipetsk Oblast. The communists, who lie second in the elections table, are nearly 15 percent

behind the Liberal Democrats. Third on the list comes the "Russia's Choice" bloc, which collected 12 percent of the vote.

Ivanovo: One person in four in Ivanovo (24.6 percent) of those who came to vote favored Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's party. Next, trailing a long way behind, comes the "Russia's Choice" bloc (14.5 percent). The "Women of Russia" bloc has 7.6 percent, the Communist Party 7.5, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord 7.1, and Yavlinskiy's block 6 percent of the vote.

Tatarstan

LD1312194793 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1746 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Tatarstan held neither a referendum on the draft of Russia's new Constitution nor elections to the State Duma and Federation Council. The republic's vice premier Elgiz Khairullin reported that only 13.8% of the electorate had participated in the voting. This number exceeded 20% in three regions of the republic.

Russia's Choice occupies the first place on the party lists. As many as 20% of those who had come to the ballot boxes voted for it, 19.6% voted for the Liberal Democratic Party, 10.1% for the bloc Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin, 8.2% for the communist party, and 7.4% for the party headed by Sergey Shakhrai.

A total of 74% of those who participated in the voting supported the new Constitution, 25% voted against.

Chuvash Republic

LD1312210693 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 2011 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] According to early returns, more than 63 percent of the voters took part in the elections in the Chuvash republic. Only 41.5 [percent] of them supported the draft constitution. The Liberal Democratic Party and the Communist Party received the greatest numbers of votes.

In the single-mandate constituencies the former deputy speaker of the RF [Russian Federation] Supreme Soviet Valentin Agafonov and adviser to the Mayor of the city of Cheboksary Nadezhda Pikalova were elected members of the State Duma. In the double mandate constituency the Chuvash Prime Minister Valentin Viktorov and rector of the Chuvash University Lev Kurakov were elected to the Federation Council.

In the election of the Chuvash President not a single candidate collected the required 25 percent of the vote. There will be a run-off in two weeks' time. Taking part in it will be the former Justice Minister of the Russian Federation Nikolai Fyodorov, who emerged from the first round with 24.9 percent of the vote, and the rector of the Chuvash University Lev Kurakov, who received 21.9 percent. The current speaker of the Chuvash Supreme Soviet Eduard Kubarev gathered a mere 3.7 percent.

Kaliningrad, Saratov, Bashkortostan

LD1412105793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Following the figures for the voting on the constitution and the party lists, information is starting to come in on the results of the voting in the first-past-the-post system. In Maritime Kray, Yevgeniy Nazdratenko, the kray's governor, has an undisputed lead over the other candidates, having received approximately 70 percent of electors' votes.

In Kaliningrad, Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko and Yuriy Matochkin, head of the oblast administration, have been elected. On the party lists, the Liberal-Democratic Party is in the lead.

In Saratov, only one winner is known so far—Nikolay Lysenko, chairman of the Central Council of the National Republican Party of Russia, who has run for the State Duma.

Bashkortostan will be represented in the Federation Council by Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the [republic's] Supreme Soviet, and [republican] Prime Minister Anatoliy Koptsov. The winner in the election to the Duma is not yet known.

Far East

MK1412111593 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Analysis by Dmitriy Oreshkin of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography, "Mercator Group," under the "Electorate" rubric: "The Sun Is Rising on 'Free Russia.' 'In the Country's East They Continue To Be Fond of 'Tough' Politicians'"]

[Text] The Far East, the only place on which there was comparatively reliable information yesterday evening, has until recently been the president's reliable electoral base. It will perhaps yet remain so because the president has distanced himself from all election blocs. The more paradoxical is the dizzying success in that region for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's party. Magadan Oblast is one of the few to have actively backed President Yeltsin's economic policy in the spring referendum. Today it gives more than 27 percent of the votes to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], 13.6 percent to Russia's Choice, and 15.5 percent to "Yabloko." Kamchatka, which confidently used to vote for the president, gave 28 percent to the LDPR, 14.8 percent to Russia's Choice, and 15.5 percent to "Yabloko." The same goes for the Koryakskiy and Chukotskiy okrugs. In electoral districts that political scientists have long regarded as pro-Yeltsin, the two democratic blocs almost tied, scoring between themselves a bit higher than the LDPR. The Communists and Agrarians have enjoyed no sympathy there, nor are they doing so now.

A completely different situation took shape in the traditionally antidemocratic districts that blackballed Yeltsin both in the 1991 elections and the 1992 referendum. One

example is Amur Oblast, where Russia's Choice failed to score even 12 percent and "Yabloko" 5 percent, while Zhirinovskiy scored a steady 24.1 per cent. Given a suspiciously high turnout of 97.1 percent, the Agrarians and Communists totalled more than 26 percent of the votes.

Fragmented data on the European part of Russia confirm the tendency. Stubborn in its antidemocratic sentiment, Smolensk Oblast gave the LDPR nearly 33 percent of the votes whereas both the democratic blocs scored between themselves some 17 percent and the Agrarians and Communists garnered nearly 27 percent.

The following conclusions can be drawn on the basis of a 3.72-percent selection considering the force of inertia in the electorate's behavior.

First, Mr. Zhirinovskiy's success is general with the exception of perhaps Moscow, Petersburg, and the other major cultural centers.

Second, this success has been in considerable measure insured by votes that the LDPR leader drew from the president's electoral party through stealing Yeltsin's image of a "tough" politician.

Third, the areas of a stable antidemocratic sentiment—wherein belong the densely populated Chernozem Zone of Russia, the Transbaykal, southern Siberia, and some other regions—will apparently vote according to the Amur and Smolensk pattern: many for the LDPR, little for the democrats, and a moderate number for the Agrarians and Communists.

One can also predict the results of the way sovereign republics acted in response to the aggressive nationalist propaganda. Their response seems to have been a weak turnout and no backing at all to Gaydar or Yavlinskiy.

Moscow and its environs, Nizhniy Novgorod, the Urals, and Petersburg will hardly be able to keep the democrats afloat. If only the lower reaches of the Caucasus help.

The sun of the new leader is rising in the East.

Magadan Oblast

OW1412051093 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 0800 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From the "Oblast News" program]

[Excerpt] The district electoral commission has summed up preliminary results of voting in the State Duma and Federation Council elections as well as the nationwide referendum on the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation. Here is what district electoral commission Chairman Aleksey Mikhaylovich (Osevelyuk) told our correspondent Aleksandr Bukharkin:

[Begin recording] [(Osevelyuk)] The district commission for elections to the Federal Assembly has the most preliminary data. I repeat preliminary because final reports have not yet been received and there has been no communication with at least one ward. Literally a few minutes ago we

received reports over the telephone and the data is being processed. Final results will become known when authentic reports on the elections are received from all wards.

According to preliminary voting results, the Liberal Democratic Party is in first place on the general federal list, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc is in second place, and Russia's Choice is in third place. As far as the single-mandate electoral district for the State Duma is concerned, candidate Tokarev is in first place. In the Federation Council voting candidates Tsvetkov is in first place and candidate Shlyapin is in second place.

[Bukharkin] What about voting on the Constitution?

[(Osevelyuk)] As I said, about 50 percent of voters took part in the elections. I think that there were sufficient numbers. [passage omitted on work of electoral commission members] [end recording]

Ryazan Oblast

LD1412131393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Summary] The elections and referendum in Ryazan Oblast achieved the required turnout. According to preliminary results, Russia's Choice won slightly more votes than the Communist Party, although the latter ran a more energetic campaign than the democrats. The Communists managed to get their candidate, Vyacheslav Lyubimov, into the Federation Council. Lyubimov was a member of the former Supreme Soviet. However, the winner of the elections in the oblast is the Liberal Democratic Party which won almost one-third of the votes.

Astrakhan

LD1412132593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1133 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] On Tuesday morning the Astrakhan election commission summed up the final results of the referendum on the new constitution and of elections to the Russian Federal Assembly. The Commission's spokeswoman, Lyudmila Tyumentseva, has said that some 51 percent of people took part in the voting on 12 December. Fifty-seven percent of them voted "yes" to the new constitution.

Russia's Choice bloc, Liberal Democrats and Communists won the largest number of votes—15 percent each.

The president's representative in the Astrakhan Region, Valeriy Adrov, and the candidate from the Agrarian Party, Vyacheslav Zvolinskiy, have won the elections to the Federation Council, and the independent candidate, Vladislav Vinogradov, adviser of the president's representative in the Astrakhan Region, was elected to the State Duma.

Khabarovsk Kray

OW1412050693 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 2010 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Interview with Mikhail Leonidovich Shvetsov, chairman of the Khabarovsk District Electoral Commission, by Leonid Stroykov; place not given; from the "Priamurye Day by Day" program—live]

[Text][Stroykov] We have just made telephone contact with the Khabarovsk District Electoral Commission, and spoke to its chairman, Mikhail Leonidovich Shvetsov. Let me remind you that our commission had a triple task: to organize elections to the State Duma in the 58th district, kraywide elections to the Federation Council, and voting for the new Russian Constitution. It is worth remembering that the commission was allocated only three days to draw up the final results of the elections. So we will be talking about strictly preliminary, one might say unofficial, results. Is it no so, Mikhail Leonidovich? Good morning.

[Shvetsov] Good morning, Leonid Nikolayevich. Good morning, respected voters of the Khabarovsk Kray. You are absolutely right when you say the results are strictly unofficial and preliminary. The fact is that we will be drawing up preliminary results today as we receive telegrams from towns and rayons in the kray. The telegrams are to be compiled based on reports arriving in our rayon and town working groups. Not one of the kray's rayons or towns has yet received all of these reports. There are serious doubts whether they will arrive today in all of the kray's rayons and towns. According to reports from Vanino and Sovetskaya Gavan, the weather conditions are harsh—it snowed heavily during the night, and it is still snowing now. Telephone lines are down in some places, cutting off contact with some voting districts. At least two cars are trapped in the snow and cannot get through to the rayon working group to deliver reports.

There were great difficulties in counting votes since the present system of marking ballot papers is completely new. The district commissions' chairmen, of course, had difficulties: First of all, they—and naturally we too—were interested in the report on the Constitution. We already have some data which I will give you now. On the whole, this information is hardly comforting. According to certain strictly preliminary data, received by telephone during the last hour by the district election commission, the situation is as follows: 46.67 percent of kray voters participated in the elections, including on the draft Constitution. In other words, less than 50 percent. Let me stipulate that we have no data from Sovetskaya Gavan on the two districts where cars cannot get through to the town center to hand in their information. Verkhnebureinskiy and Komsomolskiy Rayons are also lacking data on one district each, and neither of them can be contacted. We have been told that these districts had radios but due to meteorological conditions and some interference, this method of communication is also out. Even if the information from the four missing zones does arrive here, in my opinion, it is unlikely that the total percentage will increase significantly. It might go up to 47-48 percent only because the number of

those who did not vote in the cities is quite large—particularly, Khabarovsk and Komsomolsk-na-Amure. The percentage of voters in Khabarovsk is 43.64 percent and in Komsomolsk-na-Amure it is 44 percent. If we look at how other rayons and cities in the kray voted, we can note that in some rayons voting exceeded 50 percent. These are places like Bikin and the Bikinskiy Rayon where 54.94 percent voted; the Ayano-Mayskiy Rayon with 57.90 percent; Vyazemskiy Rayon with 53 percent; and Komsomolskiy Rayon with 54.5 percent. The situation is not bad in Nanayskiy Rayon with 59 percent, but as I have already said, the basic mass of voters in the kray lives in Komsomolsk-na-Amure and Khabarovsk and the percentage shortfall in these cities has affected the average figures. For me, as commission chairman, this is a cheerless occasion, since it was I who called on the voters—using the services of your radio station—to come and vote.

Based on the preliminary data, the reports which we have received by telephone—I will emphasize again—we can say that the voters who came to the voting centers, voted unanimously for the draft Constitution. Specifically, according to preliminary results, 73 percent of voters voted for the Constitution in Khabarovsk; 63 percent in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure; 61 percent in such cities as Amursk and Bikin; and 74 percent in Ayano-Mayskiy Rayon. So, according to the information which we have to date, the percentage that voted for the Constitution ranges between 60 and 70 plus percent in all rayons, including even some figures in the fifties. That is, people voted for the Constitution. Naturally, those who came to vote considered that their vote is important to our country and that it certainly must be heard. I thank them very much for coming and voting. I want to emphasize to voters that the Constitution will be considered adopted, or not adopted, by the total figure across country, of Russia. According to the incoming data—specifically, I have been in contact with the Central Electoral Commission—the situation is better in neighboring regions. Vladivostok and the Amur Oblast have exceeded 50 percent.

As I have already said, judging by everything, voters in our kray have failed by a few thousand votes to have the constitutional referendum considered valid. There were no extraordinary incidents to speak of outside of the extraordinary weather conditions, which will significantly complicate delivery of voting documentation to the polling commission. No significant breaches of the electoral laws were reported. I have spoken with the representatives of foreign delegations, and both the Japanese and Australian representatives told me that they are satisfied with their visits to polling stations. They have visited all the places they wanted, they were received fairly warmly, and were given all the necessary information. Their only request was to inform them more efficiently of the earliest or, as they said, of unofficial results of the elections. We promised to keep them as informed as our kray's voters. Therefore, I will provide them with this information after this interview is over. Foreign delegation representatives announced that in their opinion, the elections were conducted under conditions of freedom, without coercion or any misdemeanors. As of this hour, no official complaints

about the [voting] results arrived in our district commission from either foreign observers, representatives of our candidates, or voting members of the commission assigned by the observers. There might be some complaints, and we will of course try to resolve them in accordance with the functioning legislation. This is the information I have.

[Stroykov] Let us again tell the audience when we will know the official and final results of these events and [word indistinct].

[Shvetsov] We will not be able to rest today. Of course, we have spent a very tense night, but all our commissions are willing to work so that the kray's voters and the central electoral commission would be informed of the preliminary and final elections results as soon as possible. We will be getting telegrams providing preliminary data on the protocols today, and we will try to get all of the data from all of the kray's rayons and cities by the end of the day. Let me stress that [this data] is based on protocols which have to be delivered to the rayon. If the weather does not allow helicopters to fly, if the typhoon, or the storm, intensifies, then, unfortunately, these protocols will have to be delivered tomorrow and maybe even the day after tomorrow. The law allocates three days for drawing up the final results of the elections, including the delivery of the protocols here, to the district electoral commission. We will make every effort to draw up the final election results on the one and two mandate district and the Constitution. As to voting for parties in accordance with the general federal protocol, the law decrees that election results for the general federal district are determined by the central electoral commission.

[Stroykov] Thank you for your exhaustive report on the current situation. All the best to you. Let me remind our listeners that this was a live interview with Mikhail Leonidovich Shvetsov, chairman of Khabarovsk District Electoral Commission.

Chelyabinsk Votes May Be Declared Void

LD1212211493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2028 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Summary] In Leningradskaya Oblast 52.6 percent participated in today's voting. In Altay the turnout was more than 50 percent, while in the Volga region it was 63.2 percent.

Meanwhile, voting in Chelyabinsk Oblast may still be declared void, because the latest preliminary results indicate a 49.9 percent turnout. However, this figure does not include several remote areas.

Radio Reviews Reasons for Oblast Election Results

LD1312173393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] [Announcer] The main rivalry for the seats of deputies to the State Duma was conducted among themselves by the candidates of the Russia's Choice bloc and

the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]. An analysis of unofficial data which we possess shows that the Russian regions were not identical in their sympathies towards the leaders of these two political forces.

Thus, according to the Russian NOVOSTI agency, in Sverdlovsk Oblast the majority of the electorate followed Gaydar, and Zhirinovskiy came second. The latter came first in Irkutsk Oblast even though in Irkutsk itself the voters unequivocally gave their preference to the Russia's Choice bloc. Gaydar is also leading in Krasnoyarsk Krai but here, too, Zhirinovskiy and Zyuganov are hot on his heels. Gaydar's bloc and the LDPR gained approximately equal votes in Tula Oblast. In Smolensk Oblast, however, Zhirinovskiy was able to talk into supporting him almost three times more voters than Yegor Gaydar.

This is not the only example of a resounding defeat of the democrats. Our correspondent Oleg Alalykin reports from Ivanovo:

[Alalykin] The LDPR won in Ivanovo Oblast, finishing considerably ahead of its competitors, having collected 27.1 percent of the vote. Russia's Choice has only 16 percent. The Communist Party and the Women of Russia movement each gained slightly over 8 percent of the vote.

The first comments on this note that the success of Zhirinovskiy's party among the people of Ivanovo Oblast was determined by the very difficult economic situation in the textile enterprises. The textile crisis has been continuing for one and a half years and even though the results of the April referendum in Ivanovo Oblast were no different from the general Russian results, the current voting has shown that the followers of market-democratic ideas have exhausted their credit of trust among the people of Ivanovo Oblast.

[Announcer] The situation in the Kuzbass is also similar. Our Kemerovo correspondent Sergey Saltymakov is on the line:

[Saltymakov] Among the parties, movements, and blocs the LDPR, Zhirinovskiy's party, has the highest rating in the Kuzbass. The situation here is approximately the same as throughout the whole of Russia.

Commenting on the first results of the elections, Head of the Oblast's Administration Mikhail Kislyuk stated by supporting the constitution and Zhirinovskiy, Russians are letting the president understand that his course is correct but that order is needed. The governor assesses the results of the elections and the referendum as one more manifestation of trust in the president and the government, who have received a new chance to change the situation in the country, the press service of the head of the administration stresses.

[Announcer] Andrey Anufrikov reports on the preliminary results of the elections in Bryansk Oblast.

[Anufrikov] The LDPR is the most popular party among the oblast's inhabitants. The communist Yuriy Lodkin, former deputy to Russia's Supreme Soviet, can already be

considered to have got through to the Federal Assembly well ahead of the others. Three months ago he was removed from his post by presidential decree. Some local mass media have expressed the view that this dismissal created for the opposition deputy the reputation of a person who had suffered for his conviction, and this in the end assisted his victory.

However, the success of the candidates to the State Duma who express the interests of the communists show that we are dealing with something different altogether. The turnout percentage in the oblast's southwestern rayons which have suffered from the Chernobyl disaster is unusually high, reaching 89 percent. Many there supported opposition candidates. These rayons today have profound economic, ecological, and social problems.

[Announcer] Listening to these reports and trying to interpret the results of the voting, I thought: After all, this is natural—the rayons and the whole of Russia are the victim of the disaster which occurred in 1917. Economic, ecological, and social problems are the legacy of the past, from which there is no easy way out. The people have grown tired of misfortune, suffering, and humiliation. They have grown tired of the endless requests: Wait, wait, wait. And this is not something that has happened overnight. They grew tired as long as 50-60 years ago when the communists starved them and made them rot in concentration camps. Our people had no faith in these promises of paradise, but remained silent, for an adverse word meant a death sentence.

One can do everything. One can believe no one, one can curse everyone and, even, as it has turned out, someone wants everyone—and first of all the democrats—to be cursed. After all, they are not promising anything good but only predicting a slow deliverance from life's hardships, and even that through relentless work, but we have grown tired. We want things to happen now, today, well, tomorrow at the very latest. That is what happened once before, in Germany after being crushed in World War I. The long road to happiness did not prove attractive. At first internal enemies were found—Jews—and after that external ones, too. Fascism yelled and promised things. We have seen all this before.

Papers Report Results From Around Regions

IZVESTIYA Reports

PM1412133193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14
Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Feature based on reports from ITAR-TASS and various IZVESTIYA correspondents: "Our Correspondents Report on 12 December"]

[Text] The referendum on the new Constitution was valid in Moscow, in Volgograd, Smolensk, Tambov, Belgorod, Orel, Bryansk, Kursk, Kaluga, Novgorod, Rostov, and Vologda Oblasts, in Chuvashia, in Taymyr, and in the Ust-Orda Buryat Autonomous Okrug.

There were low turnouts in the Yamalo-Nenets and Khanty-Mansiysk National Okrugs, where fewer than 40 percent of registered voters had been to the polling stations by 1800 hours local time, and it is likely that the referendum will not be valid there. One reason for the oil and gas workers' passive response is the delay in paying their wages.

Of the 485 Russian citizens in Japan entitled to participate in the elections and referendum, 293 voted to adopt the new Constitution and 149 voted against. In the State Duma elections "Russia's Choice" (121), the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc (101), and the Russian Federation Communist Party (56) received the most support.

Comparing the preliminary data, we can say that voters in St. Petersburg were less active than in many other regions of Russia—a little over 50 percent of registered voters turned out. Only one thing is clear at the moment—the people of St. Petersburg preferred the "Russia's Choice" bloc to all the other parties and movements. Only a final calculation will show who is in second place—the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc or the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP]. The Communists will most likely occupy fourth place in the table.

Not until the evening will it finally be known who won the State Duma elections in the 210th electoral district—Yuriy Vdovin, chairman of the St. Petersburg Soviet glasnost commission, or Aleksandr Nevzorov, head of NTK-600.

In Tula Oblast 57 percent of the voters turned out. Most said yes to the new Russian Constitution. According to the preliminary data, the leading parties here are "Russia's Choice" and Zhirinovskiy's LDP. Kolkhoz chairman V. Starodubtsev, a member of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, is well ahead of other contenders in the race for the Federation Council.

The response to the elections in Tatarstan is more than cool.

Only three people turned out to vote for the Russian parliament in Aktanyshskiy Rayon in Tatarstan, and in some other rayons of the republic the turnout was more or less the same, at 0.01-0.02 percent.

In Tatarstan as a whole, according to preliminary data, fewer than 14 percent of the voters participated in the elections and referendum on the Constitution.

On 13 December the Khabarovsk district electoral commission still did not have the results of voting in four remote precincts because of bad weather and communications problems, but probably only around 47 percent of the kray's inhabitants voted. So the referendum on the adoption of a new Russian Constitution was not valid there.

Three days have been set aside for finally determining the results of the vote in the kray. But we know already that Yuriy Kachanovskiy, law institute professor and nominee of the Communists, is leading in a number of precincts. In Vaninskiy Rayon 26 percent of the voters who turned out voted for Zhirinovskiy's party.

Despite temperatures of minus 50 in Yakutia and as low as minus 60 in Kolyma and Indigirka, 64 percent of the republic's inhabitants participated in the elections and referendum on the Russian Federation Constitution.

The vast majority of voters who turned out voted for Sakha Republic President M. Nikolayev, nominated as a candidate for the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council. Unfortunately, because of the weather, there is no information on the vote in most districts, which means that the final results of the State Duma elections cannot be assessed. It is clear, though, that most people in Yakutia voted for the Russian Federation Constitution.

In Estonia, according to V. Ostapchuk, counselor at the Russian Embassy, there are around 40,000 Russian citizens of voting age. With the permission of the Estonian Government the Russian Embassy arranged for six polling stations to be opened in Tallinn and Narva. According to preliminary data, 11,500 people visited them.

Unfortunately, neither the Central Electoral Commission nor Babushkinkiy Electoral District No. 194 in Moscow managed to provide Russians abroad with prior information on the blocs, parties, and candidates for the Federal Assembly, so many voters tuned in to the Liberal Democratic and Communist Parties, whose leaders were promising not to leave Russians in the lurch.

The referendum on the Constitution was invalid in Sverdlovsk Oblast—47.7 percent of those entitled to vote went to the polls.

According to electoral commission data, in one of the city's biggest industrial regions, where "Uralmash," "Uralskietrottyazhmash," and the Turbine Engine Plant are situated, "Russia's Choice" was the confident winner, with the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev bloc in second place and the Sobchak bloc in third. But Zhirinovskiy's is fourth. Some 45 percent of the voters voted for the Constitution.

According to the preliminary data, it is doubtful whether the Communists, the Zhirinovskiy people, or the Agrarian Party will make any substantial strides in the Urals. But the referendum results give food for thought: The internal contradictions that arose between the Moscow and Urals democrats could weaken the overall democratic camp in the future. The idea of bellicose populism are again finding leaders and supporters. While the forces that could counteract them are fragmented and trapped in infighting.

There was every reason to fear that the vote on the Constitution would be invalid in Krasnoyarsk Kray. Representatives of the kray administration and the Russian president even made emergency appeals to the people of Krasnoyarsk in evening radio programs to do their civic duty. According to preliminary data, 51 percent of the voters turned out. The turnout was under 50 percent in the kray's cities.

But most of the voters did vote for the Constitution. In the elections opposition representatives were undoubtedly victorious, with Zhirinovskiy's party first and the Communist

Party and the Yavlinskiy bloc sharing second place. In the four single-seat districts in the kray the winners were V. Ivanov and V. Zhurko, two representatives of the LDP; V. Tikhonov, former Russian people's deputy; the picture is not yet clear in one district—an Agrarian Party representative and an independent candidate are fighting it out. V. Zubov, the kray governor, and P. Romanov, director of a major defense enterprise—the “Yenisey” chemical combine—and cochairman of the Russian National Assembly [Sobor], who publicly backed the “implacable opposition,” have been elected to the Federation Council.

Journalists were told that the preliminary data on the election and referendum results in Kemerovo would be announced at 1600 hours local time by administration chief M. Kislyuk at a press conference. Our own information is contradictory and odd. For example, at 0600 it was known that in nine cities (including Novokuznetsk, the biggest in the Kuzbass) fewer than half of the voters had turned out. But for some reason it transpired that the referendum was valid in the oblast “as a whole.” The only thing that was not in doubt before the elections was “independent” candidate A. Tuleyev's crushing victory, well ahead of his rivals.

Early in the morning of 13 December Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet, accepted numerous congratulations on his election as first president of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

There was probably more interest in the Bashkortostan presidential election result than in the results of the referendum on the draft Russian Federation Constitution and the Federal Assembly elections. More than 60 percent of the voters turned out to vote. According to the preliminary data, 60-67 percent voted for M. Rakhimov. His only rival—Rafis Kadyrov, chairman of the board of the “Vostok” international joint-stock commercial bank, received around 30 percent of the votes.

The vast majority of voters in Yaroslavl Oblast voted for the new Constitution. “Russia's Choice” won a majority of votes in the elections to the State Duma on the federation-wide lists, just ahead of the LDP. Then (but well behind) come “Women of Russia” and the Communist and Agrarian Parties.

The “Russia's Choice” and LDP candidates did not make the State Duma in either of the single-seat districts in Yaroslavl Oblast. But candidates from “Russia's Choice”—oblast governor Anatoliy Lisitsyn and Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yelena Mizulina—were elected to the Federation Council.

On election eve Aleksandr Korobchenko, sociologist and candidate of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, said in a statement on Penza television that the campaign in the oblast was proceeding according to the game plan of the Communists, whose proteges are Governor Anatoliy Kovyagin and three “Moscow carpetbaggers”—Viktor Ilyukhin, activist in the National Salvation Front; Viktor Vidmanov, chairman of Rosagropromstroy; and Mikhail Sharov, deputy chief editor of SELSKAYA ZHIZN.

The local Russia's Choice organization has cited a number of instances which indicate that an extensive campaign had been launched against the draft constitution. For example, at noon on 11 December good-quality printed leaflets were distributed to the oblast center's mailboxes advising people how to “bury” the constitution and vote for stated candidates. The Democrats registered an appropriate complaint with the prosecutor. But as a result Penza voted down the Constitution.

In Chelyabinsk Oblast the preliminary figures are as follows: 51.03 percent of people on the electoral roll voted in the oblast; 71.5 percent voted in favor of adopting the new Constitution. Chelyabinsk itself did not muster the 50 percent of actual voters needed to adopt the constitution. The same situation obtained in the two other major cities in the oblast.

Russia's Choice led the electoral associations and blocs during the election campaign in Chelyabinsk Oblast. However, according to the voting returns, the LDPR has come a very close second to it. In the single-seat districts three of the five victorious candidates belong to the Russia's Choice bloc: Namely V. Golovlev, chairman of the Oblast State Committee for the Management of State Property; A. Pochinok, Russian first deputy finance minister; and A. Kushnar, chairman of the Union of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs of the Urals.

The referendum and elections were valid in Chuvashia. There was a 61-percent turnout; 41.5 percent of voters voted for the adoption of the Constitution. The Communists and Liberal Democratic Party of Russia are leading the party lists there. None of the seven contenders in the republic's presidential race obtained the requisite number of votes. Repeat elections are in prospect.

In Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast a majority of voters approved the draft Constitution. There was a more than 50-percent turnout in the oblast as a whole. Oblast Soviet Chairman Ye. Krestyanikov and Governor B. Nemtsov, widely known for their reformist activity in the oblast, are the indisputable leaders in Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast District No. 52.

In the April referendum Voronezh Oblast did not support the socioeconomic policy of the president's team. On 12 December only 44.3 percent of those who voted backed the new Constitution, according to preliminary figures. According to figures coming in from electoral precincts, Zhirinovskiy's party is the clear leader in many rayons. And of the four deputies who will, by all accounts, be working on behalf of the oblast in the State Duma, only one supports the government reforms. The rest will most likely join the the new implacable opposition.

The following figures show the indifference with which Nizhniy Novgorod voters treated the elections: Only 58.6 of voters turned out, as against the 72.3 percent who voted in the April referendum.

A total of 56.64 percent of Rostov Oblast voters turned out to vote. And all this despite the employment of every kind of stunts. For example, in Sovetskiy District No. 145 there

was declared a...lottery for voters. If candidate V. Kalinko was returned to the State Duma certain lucky voters had valuable prizes in store for them—televisions, video equipment, and even an apartment in Rostov. However, the city prosecutor's office promptly intervened, ruling that the lottery contravened election law.

On the eve of the elections Nikolay Chebotarev, general director of Don-TV, took Sergey Sineok, the political program moderator, off the air. A broadcast feature in which Sineok had together with representatives of the electoral commissions explained the procedure for completing the voting slips to viewers was the reason for this. By way of example the moderator had—while on camera—struck out the “yes” on the ballot paper for the referendum on the constitution. The television leadership interpreted this as campaigning against the adoption of the Constitution.

The results of the voting in Rostov Oblast have not yet been announced, but it can be said right now that the unexpected distribution of voters' preferences is more the consequence of a low turnout than an objective reflection of political trends in society.

There was a 54.4-percent turnout in Krasnodar Kray. The majority of people in the Kuban region supported the Constitution. The figures relating to candidates and the parties and blocs are being processed.

Your correspondent visited polling places early on the morning of 12 December. In each of them he discovered posters and pamphlets urging people to vote for specific candidates and blocs. Voters report numerous violations occurring during voting.

Many polling places in Stavropol had clearly not counted on the large amount of work involved in voters' completing their ballot papers. The waiting lines for the booths hardly moved. People made their choice, pressing the ballot paper against the wall or squatting down amid the scrum, asked people who happened to be near them for help, and sometimes voted in accordance with the latter's preference.

The border village of Galyugayevskiy afforded the opportunity to vote to Russian inhabitants of neighboring Chechnya, where the republic authorities refused, as people know, to hold the referendum on the Constitution and the election of deputies to the Russian parliament. The number of participants could have been larger if the interests of the Russian-speaking population of Chechnya had been taken care of in good time: In accordance with Islamic traditions Sunday is a working day in Chechnya.

By 1000 hours on Monday only fragmentary figures—mainly from unofficial sources—were known. They all noted the unusual success scored by the LDPR.

The preliminary election results in North Ossetia are no surprise to the republic, according to Z. Tomayev, executive secretary of the district electoral commission. Former Russian Federation people's deputies have been elected to the Russian parliament. The Communist Party and the

LDPR lead the electoral associations, while a little over half voted for the Constitution.

In Volgograd Oblast more than 55 percent of the electorate voted. As of midday election headquarters reported that the final results of voting on the new Constitution were still not determined. At that time the number of “no” votes cast was greater than the “yes” votes, but figures had not come in from Volzhskiy and Kamyshin. Even on election day, as we have learned, placards urging people to vote against the new Constitution were discovered close to polling places.

It has not been possible to obtain figures on the elections to the Federal Assembly for the whole oblast, but in Krasnoarmeyskiy District 13 percent of voters voted for Russia's Choice, while more than 23 percent voted for Zhirnovskiy's party and over 12 percent in favor of the Communist Party.

In Omsk Sergey Baburin was victorious in Electoral District No. 130. He was simply bound to win: He was simultaneously opposed by three democrat candidates. By splitting the vote, they paved Baburin's way to parliament.

Outright victory was secured by Omsk Governor Leonid Polezhayev, who, as the elections showed, goes down well today with communists, democrats, fascists, and farmers. The governor was standing for the Federation Council.

Fifty-nine percent of Omsk voters supported the Constitution.

IZVESTIYA has been informed by the Kaliningrad Oblast Administration that around 56 percent of the electorate turned out to vote there. The draft Constitution was approved in the oblast. Vice Premier V. Shumeyko and Oblast Administration Head Yu. Matochkin were elected to the Federation Council, running a long way ahead of their rivals, while on the party list voters expressed a clear preference for the LDPR.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Reports

MK1412105593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 3

[Natalya Pachegina report under the “Russia” rubric with the general headline: “Elections Did Take Place. So Did Referendum. Everyone Voted as He Could”]

[Text] “The republic has turned out for the elections” was how Yevgeniy Nefedov, deputy chairman of the republic's electoral commission, summed up the results of the Sunday poll saying that 53.5 percent of Karelia's residents came to the polling stations. The deputy electoral commission chairman specified that a total of 65.41 percent voted for the draft Russian Constitution in Karelia. Officials at Petrozavodsk would not give detailed comments on the election results, saying only that the elections reflected the actual balance of political forces in the republic.

In the Ingush Republic, as of Sunday night, a total of 49 percent of registered voters turned out for the elections for

the Russian Federation Federal Assembly and the constitutional referendum. By noon, however, updated reports came to Nazran saying that 57 percent of citizens or around 67,000 people went to the polls in the republic. Although there were no results of the vote in the Nazran district (one of three districts making up the Ingush Republic), the republic's electoral commission announced that 55 percent of the voters gave their backing to the Russian Constitution.

A total of 14 candidates were running for the State Duma in Ingushetia. One of them withdrew his candidacy on the eve of the elections. The electoral commission does not as yet have definite information, but it expects that Ingushetia will be represented in the State Duma by Aleksandra Mamdzhyan, a public figure fairly well known in the North Caucasus, who had Ingush President Ruslan Aushev among her active campaigners. Ruslan Aushev and Isa Kostoyev, former representative of the Russian president in Ingushetia and presently chief of the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office's department for the investigation of assault and battery, were elected to the Council of the Federation.

According to preliminary reports, the republic's voters sympathized most with the Democratic Party of Russia (under Nikolay Travkin). The Communist Party under Zyuganov came in second. The Liberal Democratic Party under Zhirinovskiy and Civic Union ranked third and fourth respectively.

In Kabardino-Balkaria, a total of 57.7 percent of the voters turned out for the elections. According to the district electoral commission, areas with predominantly Balkar population proved the most active in the voting. In the Sovetskiy district, for instance, turnout was 70.5 percent; in Chegem, 68.7; and in Nalchik, 53.8. Yuriy Ketov, chairman of the Kabardino-Balkaria district commission, said that a total of 66.98 percent voted for the new draft Constitution, which means that Kabardino-Balkaria, where an active propaganda campaign for boycotting the referendum was under way, said "Yes" to the new Russian Constitution.

Preliminary results of the elections and the constitutional referendum have been made public in Altay Kray. Georgiy Klassov, chairman of the working commission for the preparation and conduct of the elections, said in a press conference that a total of 1.056 million, or 54.3 percent of voters, showed up at the polls, of whom 524,000 people voted for the draft Constitution. As for the parties and blocs, the Liberal Democratic Party under Zhirinovskiy and the Agrarian Party have a strong lead with 100,000 votes each. They are followed by the Russian Federation Communist Party, "Women of Russia," and "Russia's Choice," which are also ahead of the rest by a wide margin. They polled 32,000 to 35,000 votes each. The Democratic Party of Russia garnered around 12,000 votes. The other electoral associations scraped together a negligible share of the vote.

According to a tentative tally, which was confirmed by the district electoral commission of North Ossetia, Akhsarbek

Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetia Supreme Soviet, and Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, won the elections for the Council of the Federation. One State Duma seat in the territorial district was contested by 14 candidates. Aleksandr Dzasokhov, former first secretary of the CPSU oblast committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee, currently cochairman of the "For Dialogue and Cooperation in the Asian-Pacific Region" international association, won a landslide victory, scoring 60 percent of the vote. Other candidates garnered 1 to 5 percent of the vote each. According to Dzasokhov, his electoral success was not a coincidence and was attributable to the fact that he held over 110 meetings with the voters in the districts over the past 45 days. In Prigorodnyy Rayon, where the state of emergency regime remains in place, around 90 percent voted for Dzasokhov. Precise numbers of the voting on the Constitution are not yet known, but preliminary data suggest that it will be turned down by North Ossetia's voters. The same can be said with assurance about the voters of Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, and Tuva.

'Reliable Source' at Moscow Mayor's Office Reports Results

LD1312212293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2011
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] A reliable source at the Moscow Mayor's office has said that 53-54% of the registered voters came to the polls and two-thirds of them supported the draft constitution. Russia's Choice received the votes of 35-37% of those who appeared at the polls. It is followed by the Communist Party of Russia, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin alliance and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party.

The former chairman of the Moscow City Council Nikolay Gonchar and chairman of the Peasant Party Yuriy Chernenchenko were elected to the Council of the Federation.

In Moscow's single-mandate constituencies at least 11 people supported by Russia's Choice were elected to the State Duma, including the former people's deputies of the Russian Federation Sergey Kovalev, Georgiy Zadonskiy, Viktor Mironov, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov and Lawyer Andrey Makarov.

According to the same source, the list of winners includes the Vice-Premier of Moscow's government Aleksandr Braginskiy (the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms) and the independent candidate Yuriy Vlasov, an Olympic Champion and writer, who got ahead of two contenders—the former people's deputy of Russian Aleksey Surkov and leader of the Economic Freedom Party Konstantin Borovoy.

Electoral Commission Gives Results by Party

LD1412122593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1147
GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 14 December, TASS—The Central Electoral Commission reported on Tuesday the following preliminary results of elections:

Liberal Democratic Party—24.58 percent,
Russia's Choice—15.03,
Communist Party—11.16,
Women of Russia—8.72,
Agrarian Party—8.02,
Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin—7.71,
Party of Russian Unity and Accord—5.76
Democratic Party of Russia—5.64,

Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms—4.01,
Civic Union—1.91,
Future of Russia-New Names—1.61,
Constructive Ecology Movement—0.81,
Dignity and Charity—0.68.

Official, Regional Reaction

Yeltsin's Mood 'Normal and Businesslike' After Vote

PM1312202593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Gamov report: "And What Does Boris Nikolayevich Think?"]

[Text] As KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's correspondent learned from well informed sources, the mood of the president himself and his apparatus staffers on 13 December was perfectly normal and businesslike. At least, there was no sign of panic.

Having appeared at the Kremlin early in the morning as usual, Boris Yeltsin met with several Russian politicians, and with the leaders of a number of departments. As we were told, these meetings were not extraordinary in their nature and they were not directly associated with the preliminary election results.

It is quite possible that in the near future, even before the official results of the election and the referendum are known, a brief written statement from the president will be published, which will probably be optimistic in its content. The reason for this, as I see it, is that Boris Yeltsin must be satisfied with the fact that, according to preliminary figures, the majority of those who voted supported the draft new constitution.

And nevertheless it has to be assumed that the president will not overlook the blunders of the democrats during the election campaign. Even before this, he was quite skeptical in his evaluation of attempts by associates to throw together avant-garde parties and movements for the duration of the "historic moment"—the exception here was, perhaps, Gaydar with his "Choice." Life has confirmed the president's skepticism, but this, of course, does not make things any easier for him.

Note: Yesterday evening Boris Yeltsin issued a statement in which he promised "to stand firm on the positions of the new Constitution."

Yeltsin Spokesman on Possibility of Early Elections LD1212234093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2317 GMT 12 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin intends to remain in office until his term expires in 1996, according to presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov who admitted, however, that the possibility of early presidential elections can be raised by the new legislature.

"The president has the will to carry out his mandate of trust from the people until the end", Kostikov told TASS on Monday. He added, however, that the issue of early polls "can be discussed in the new parliament".

Kostikov said the situation should not be "dramatised in connection with certain successes of the Liberal Democratic Party" of nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. He added that the success was ensured by skillful canvassing in the run up to elections and that democrats "should learn a lesson from that and look at the organs of the LDPR more attentively".

Kostikov stressed that Boris Yeltsin "remains the president of all Russians and stands over all parties".

Says Yeltsin To 'Respect' Voters' Choice

LD1312013793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0021
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] The spokesman for the Russian president Vyacheslav Kostikov has told Interfax that on midnight of December 12-13, referring to latest reports, the referendum on the draft new constitution has taken place.

Asked in an exclusive interview to Interfax how President Yeltsin will react that Liberal Democrats and Communists may receive a considerable proportion of seats in parliament, Kostikov has said that the president will show respect and understanding to the choice made by the Russians on December 12. In the election programmes and promises by the Liberal Democrats and Communists there are many moments that, according to Kostikov, correspond to the social orientation of the presidential policy. Among them the state's social orientation, patriotism and glorifying Russia.

He said that it could be possible in some aspects to cooperate with Communists and Liberal Democrats unless they resort to extremist slogans and methods and would act like serious politicians.

If the Communists take into account the negative experience the people rejected at the April referendum, if they tend towards Social Democrats, they will become serious partners of the government and the president, said Kostikov. I would not overdramatize the developments concerning this aspect.

He said that the results of the elections were forecasted but Liberal Democrats made a better showing than it was

expected. Kostikov explains this by the skilful election campaign by Liberal Democrats.

He explained the situation by a great number of social problems in the country that seem not to be tackled by the government.

The government and the president, he said, are prepared to provide the people with what they need but Liberal Democrats are making their promises more comprehensible. I believe, said Kostikov, that when Liberal Democrats and Communists occupy their seats in parliament they will stick to moderate views, as it is often the case in Europe, understanding that election promises are one thing and quite another thing when they are to fulfil their promises. Kostikov expressed hope that Liberal Democrats and Communists will show more restraint in parliament than at election rostrums.

Aide Rejects Coalition

LD1312132993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1143
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Russia is in need of a uniform rather than a patchwork coalition government, chief of the administration's regional management department, Nikolay Medvedev, told Interfax. He was commenting on presidential secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov's statement raising the possibility of cooperation with the Liberal Democrats.

Early returns indicate that LDP [Liberal Democratic Party], led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, won a substantial number of votes defeating the pro-government Russia's Choice alliance in parts of Russia.

Medvedev says Russia cannot afford a coalition government in conditions of crisis. With new presidential and parliamentary elections being just two years away, the country is in need of a powerful authority in the form of a democratically elected president and his government, he said.

President's Administration Chief on Vote Results

LD1312014893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0021
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] The Presidential Administration Chief Sergey Filatov has said in an interview with Interfax that the new constitution cushions the presence of Communists and Liberal Democrats [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, LDPR] in the Federal Assembly since the fundamental law gives the president and government far more powers. He noted, however, that such a huge popularity of Zhirinovskiy and his party at the polls indicated that Russia's current leadership "has done something wrong."

He believes that a similar situation at elections in 1996 can be avoided if reforms succeed. In his words, statistics prove that the market is being saturated.

Blames Journalists for Zhirinovskiy's Success

LD1312014493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0021
GMT 13 Dec 93

[INTERFAX headline: "Filatov Blames Zhirinovskiy's Success on Journalists"]

[Text] The success of the Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy at Sunday's elections "is a shock for all", the Presidential Administration Chief Sergey Filatov has told an Interfax reporter. In his opinion, have helped Zhirinovskiy to succeed by creating publicity to him with their stories. [sentence as received].

Filatov's assistant Sergey Krasavchenko noted that upon his entry into the Kremlin Palace, Zhirinovskiy walked directly to the Chairman of the Ostankino TV Station Vyacheslav Bragin and "shook his hand for a long time." In Krasavchenko's view, state-run television should not had given too much broadcasting time to Zhirinovskiy.

Faults Democrats for Split

LD1312021093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0048
GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The success of the Liberal Democratic and the Communist Parties in the parliamentary elections turned out to be unexpected for Head of the Presidential Administration Sergey Filatov who expected the democratic and reformist forces to win.

"There are unexpected things in the results of the vote", he told TASS on Monday.

"In our initial forecasts before elections we counted on the success of Russia's Choice, the Yavlinskiy Bloc, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms and put Communists in the end. But a different correlation of forces emerges", he said.

The unexpected success of Zhirinovskiy will "complicate the work of the parliament", according to Filatov.

He blamed the split among democrats for the success of their opponents. "I believe democrats were tactically wrong from the very beginning by rejecting coordinated actions. This pushed the people away because they need reliability. People need scandals, abuse, uncoordinated actions lest of all", he said.

Comments on Election Night

PM1412125193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in
Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Robert Minasov report: "Political Show With Favorable Outcome"]

[Text] At 2155 on 12 December I encountered Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian President's Administration, by the official entrance to the State Kremlin Palace. We had a brief interview.

[Minasov] How do you feel, Sergey Aleksandrovich?

[Filatov] Excellent!

[Minasov] Any preliminary information?

[Filatov] The elections have taken place and the Constitution has been adopted! [Filatov ends]

Before this there had been more than enough skeptics about a referendum on adopting the Constitution—it had even appeared that way over 50 percent might be in that camp. And indeed many circumstances—the extremely short timeframe, the sometimes not totally precise wording of certain provisions and norms in the draft fundamental law, and the sharp rejection of the draft by influential opponents such as the Agrarian Party, the Russian Communist Party, and others, could have had a major influence on the referendum result. To be honest, the first figures read out in the Kremlin Palace, where the whole of Moscow political society was ceremonially greeting the political new year, were extremely discouraging. At 2345 on 12 December the enormous scoreboard in the banquet hall showed the following figures for four districts: In the elections the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] had 68 percent, the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] 46 percent, the Agrarian Party 22 percent, "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" 18 percent...

There was an atmosphere of tension heavily overlaid with anxiety in the banquet hall. And no performances by famous artistes or ardent speeches by political leaders seemed capable of easing the disappointment.

But eight minutes later—at 2353—the figures for the referendum on the constitution appeared on the scoreboard—73 percent "yes," 23 percent "no."

Immediate relief.

After all the constitution is more important. Henceforth all our problems will be tackled on the basis of the country's most important law.

At 0045 on 13 December the scoreboard showed that the referendum victory was complete and unconditional—throughout Russia 74.76 percent of citizens had said "yes" and 25.24 percent, "no."

During the brief intervals between performances by artistes and the cream of Russia I snatched some brief interviews.

Sergey Yushenkov, first deputy leader of the Federal Information Service:

"Democratic forces are hardly likely to have a decisive majority in the new parliament. So it is difficult to talk about the formation of a legislative base—the formation, that is, of the course formulated by Gaydar back in 1991. This in no way means the failure of Yeltsin's policy, as our opponents have already rushed to claim. You might have been able to talk about failure if the constitution had not been adopted.... But the president's political image was

influenced to some extent by the fact that he kept his distance from the democratic blocs and attempted to rise above the 'fray'...."

Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian Federation President's Administration:

"A structure will be formed within the presidential team to work with the Federal Assembly and try to find mutually acceptable actions with it. We have already discussed the question with the president. Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin was also involved. Incidentally, the Federation Treaty will be part of the Constitution."

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeiko:

"I congratulate everybody on the adoption of the Constitution. I am less concerned about the elections. The parties which have gotten into the State Duma are the ones that promised a lot. They now have to prove in practice through their lawmaking that these were not empty promises but a genuine desire to improve Russian citizens' lot. My two years of experience of work in the previous Supreme Soviet convincingly testified that laws are made not by the people who 'hog' the microphones by the people who push the legislative plow. I would take television out of the Federal Assembly.... The Constitution has been adopted. Under its provisions the government has to resign. But under the same constitution this will be decided by the president, who, I believe, does not intend to go before 1996."

Mikhail Poltoranin, leader of the Federal Information Center:

"My election prediction was right: I predicted 17-21 percent for 'Russia's Choice'.... We probably won't be able to form an overwhelming majority in parliament. There will be divisions. But my view is that our opponents don't want to work in parliament but want to make a lot of noise and fuss, which is precisely what they will do."

Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov:

"Unfortunately, for some reason some of your colleagues seek to topple normal, decent people at any price. You know who I am talking about. But I keep out of squabbles; I don't intend to get into a fight with them. I'm running on a Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms ticket, and everything seems to be going OK. If I get to be a deputy I'll work; if I don't I'll retire. Once I stop understanding my esteemed fellow citizens..."

...By 0500 on 13 December almost everything had become clear. Number one, we now have a new Constitution! Number two, we will have a new parliament! Multipolar, multicolored, and motley, but a parliament nonetheless.

Spokesman: Yeltsin Remains in Control of Foreign Policy

LD1412132793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1133 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry continues carrying out a stable foreign policy. It has been and continues to be

directed by the president, INTERFAX was told Tuesday [14 December] by the Foreign Ministry's spokesman Grigoriy Karasin.

He informed of the ministry's preparedness for constructive cooperation with all branches of power, including the Federal Assembly. We shall consider the views and approaches by representatives of various points along the Russian political spectrum to international problems, said Karasin.

Yeltsin Aide on Constitution's 'Protection' From Parliament

LD1312180593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1738 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—"The new Constitution approved by citizens of Russia is the only protection from an unpredictable parliament," Emil Pain, a member of the Russian Presidential Council, said on Monday [13 December].

"It was designed for a 'tough' parliament. The forecasts of those who developed its last version have come true," he added.

Speaking about possible amendments which the new parliament will try to make from the very outset, Pain said that everything will depend on the "specific weight of Zhirinovskiy's party there." He believes that Zhirinovskiy is not interested in weakening the president. However, he added that the parliament will be seeking to establish a so-called "government of popular accord," and to change the composition of the present government.

Pain also noted that not Zhirinovskiy himself but his party has won the seats in the parliament. "It is hard to predict its moves since its faction will be one of the largest," he said.

On the whole, the new parliament will not dramatically affect the situation in the country because the government and the president remain in power, while the very existence of the parliament will justify the enforcement of the executive branch.

He admitted, however, that the new balance of power may seriously affect the country's foreign policy. "It will cause increasingly growing concerns," Pain concluded.

'Expert' Close to Yeltsin on Russia's Choice Defeat

LD1312194193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1753 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Report by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] In conversation with Interfax, an expert close to the Russian president who preferred to remain anonymous shared his opinions regarding probable reasons of the

defeat of the bloc Russia's Choice and "triumph" of the Liberal Democrats and Zhirinovskiy.

The expert does not doubt that Russia's Choice will be able to control the future parliament. He asserts that this result "has been actually programmed under provision that all participants of the pre-election struggle observe the rules of honest play, especially those who are in charge of vote counting at the final stage."

The expert has enumerated several key reasons for the relative failure of Russia's Choice. As he said:

"A truly mass popularity of several names, which have been included in the pre-election lists of the bloc and which in society's minds are firmly associated with economic procedures code-named 'poignant entry of the market' without any insurance of the population's social security is one of the most obvious reasons. Apparently there is no need to enumerate the whole complex of these measures, one should remember the radical liberalization of prices, resulting in the ruin of the ruble, which has been turned into a kind of a coupon identical to the CIS pseudo-money.

I can mention another fact: Many Russians well remember Gaydar's TV address to unarmed Muscovites voiced late on October 4 to go and defend democracy at the building of the Moscow Council in Tverskaya street, 13. Before this appeal many people thought that a more mighty weapon than the courage of common people should be in the arsenal of a normal legal government, for example, forces of the Interior, Security, and Defense Ministries, and that, during cataclysms, a citizen, a taxpayer as well, can rely on the protection on the part of the state and its institutions but not vice versa.

A firm but maybe unjust impression about several representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers of 1991-1992 as about people who have not always unselfishly used their official posts is another important factor of Russia's Choice's failure.

The third aspect concerns absence of unity within this formation which combines figures of various inclinations, including poets and ardent orators taught by theoreticians of the Marxist school. Pluralism is not a blessing but a misfortune in this concrete case. The composition of this team reflects complete absence of a common basis and vividly explains why Russia's Choice is not and cannot become a party in a strict sense of the word in contrast to its many contenders, primarily radical nationalists and communists.

According to the expert, "not quite happy choice of the name" of Gaydar's bloc, "not only a tedious one but a self-confident name containing an unambiguous prompt for whom to vote in Russia," has also played a certain negative role.

The expert views Boris Yeltsin's attitude towards Russia's Choice's attempts to propagate itself as the sole defender of the presidential course of the reforms as quite natural and justified. To this effect Interfax's interviewee recalled

the undignified reaction of the presidential press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov with respect to the statement of the presidential administration's leader Sergey Filatov, who was registered in the federal list of Russia's Choice, who said that this association can pretend to the role of a presidential-governmental party.

The expert qualified skillful the election campaign by Zhirinovskiy, his compatriots, and "group of support" as one of the main "vectors of success." In contrast to their numerous "democratic rivals," they did not discuss failures in the work of the present Cabinet of Ministers but proposed demagogic but real answers "to the most painful Russian issues, heaping on all categories of Russians promises they are incapable of fulfilling but sweet to hear."

Meanwhile, commenting on preliminary results on the elections to the parliament one of the officials of the presidential staff, who also asked not to be named, disagreed with the opinion of several of his colleagues inclined to dramatize consequences of victory of Zhirinovskiy and the Communists."

In his words, approval of the new Constitution at the December 12 referendum on the part of majority of Russians is an appropriate counterbalance to possible attempts of the "winners" to pursue "the Khasbulatov course" to create an irreconcilable opposition. The expert reminded that the Basic Law grants wide authorities to the president including disbandment of the parliament and announcement of new elections.

At the same time he expressed a supposition that Yeltsin would not be forced to use any radical means to counteract "Zhirinovskiy's threat." "I do not think that the situation would result in this. Zhirinovskiy and his people will manage to adapt to the realities of big politics and will abandon many of their pre-election slogans, which shocked the public. Even if the Liberal Democrat leader is successful in his actions he will be able to control only half of the deputies in the parliament's chamber," believes the official.

Chernomyrdin Comments on Constitution, Results

LD1312141293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1350 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—"The approval of the new constitution in effect marks the birth of a new, democratic Russia", Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Viktor Chernomyrdin announced during a 40-minute conversation with journalists on Friday [as received] in the premier's office.

Chernomyrdin said the new constitution provides a legal, "firm base" for the cabinet's work. He added that government members themselves were the most uncomfortable of all working practically without a constitution. "Now the government's activities are clearly defined in the constitution", the premier said.

"We wanted and worked for a law-based state. We got it. Now let's learn to live by the constitution", said Chernomyrdin. At the same time, he noted that the constitution will be further amended.

Speaking about the elections to the Federal Assembly, the head of the Russian Government said he is worried by the question of, "how the new parliament will begin its work", and by the preliminary results of the elections. He also specifically mentioned the importance of establishing good, cooperative working relations between the government and the Federal Assembly. "We are going to set up work on a practical basis. I am sure of one thing, no matter what happens the parliament will contain people who want good for Russia and its people. If we use that principle as a base, if we all work with that in mind, then the government and parliament will always be able to understand each other", Chernomyrdin stressed.

The premier also noted that the government will take all the positive parts of electoral blocs and parties' programs into account when planning its further work.

Answering an ITAR-TASS question about what he thinks about the Liberal Democrats' leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his possible claims on ministerial portfolios, Chernomyrdin said, "The make-up of the cabinet was bound to change in any case, even without the elections". "If I continue to work in my post, I will strive to achieve first of all professionalism, which, I think, is expressed by the desire to help Russia... And we will work on the question of which banner the pretenders for government positions will carry", the prime minister expressed.

Views Government-Parliament Relations

LD1312200493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1618 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Report by "observer" Valeriy Kiosa on Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's meeting with journalists in Moscow on 13 December, including recorded extracts of Chernomyrdin remarks; from the "Mayak Panorama" program]

[Text] [Kiosa] This meeting with the prime minister naturally began with the outcome of what happened yesterday, and in particular with the results of the referendum on the draft of a new Russian constitution.

[Chernomyrdin] I would like, first and foremost, to congratulate the country on the adoption of the new constitution. Time will pass—the precise figures will soon be known. The main thing with which we were intimidated was the uncertainty over whether the voters would turn out or not. But our people are not like that. The first constitution of the new democratic Russia has been born. That is the first thing. And this is a great event, which deserves to be given its due.

[Kiosa] Naturally the next question concerned what the new constitution gives to the government.

[Chernomyrdin] There was more inconvenience and unpleasantness before. But now there is the constitution to back the work of the government. So it represents a firm

support, now that we have the constitution. We can work in line with the constitution. We wanted and worked for a law-based state. Now we have it. So let us learn to live by the constitution. I would say that for the government there is broad scope here. Once again I would say the first thing is that there is now no need to seek guidance or approval. It clearly sets out what the government should deal with. But not only the government—enterprises too, and all our formal structures, our bankers, and commercial organizations. For me all of this is a major step forward, an enormous job that has been done.

[Kiosa] Another question asked how the government will work with a new parliament which will apparently be an extremely mixed bag.

[Chernomyrdin] I would probably be far from responsible if I were to say today that I am not alarmed at the prospect of how parliament will get down to its work. It goes without saying that one of the main things is to harmonize the work of the government with that of our Federal Assembly. That's natural.

I can tell you that we have prepared a huge—well, not huge but large—package of business for parliament to look at. But once again it has to be said that that is business tabled by us. It is another matter to establish a working relationship and sort out how to structure that work. So this is a large package of business, whole draft laws dealing in particular with the new civil code, a draft law on the trust management of property, that is, with trusts, draft laws on taxation, documents intended to broaden the legislative base of the market economy.

At the start, in the early days we will hand out work for the Federal Assembly. After all, as they say, the more work they have, the less time there is for other things. We will structure our work on a practical basis. I am convinced of one thing, that is, that there are people coming into parliament who will want good for Russia and for their own people. If we take that as our starting point, if we all work on that basis, then we will always find common understanding.

We have never thought—and it did not even occur to us—that we would ever work without a parliament. That would be an entirely different matter, how to begin on this work. That is the first point. The second is to concentrate our main attention today on those problems which need to be resolved. There are points which need to be extracted from the programs publicized by the blocs and parties. There are points which the government is duty-bound to take into account, and I believe it will do so in its practical work.

[Kiosa] Finally, here is how Viktor Chernomyrdin replied to a question from Mayak about how he sees Russia's role in the modern world.

[Chernomyrdin] I should not like anyone to run away with the impression that we, that Russia, has now ended up taking some kind of back seat. That is far from the case. The potential we have—and here I am thinking not actually of resources, which are given by God, but of the

industrial potential we have today—gives no grounds for running ourselves down. For this reason I believe that Russia occupies a worthy place in the world.

Russia is a state which others should reckon with, and will have to reckon with, even if we are in the kind of position we find ourselves in today—a tough and difficult one. But these are our own difficulties, which we have to overcome. We will overcome them. But I can say once again that Russia has occupied a worthy place and continues to do so.

We are a quite different country. We have already shaken off the enemy image. We want people to reckon with us just as with everyone else. We do not seek any special conditions, but we cannot and will not allow anyone to treat us in some special way, especially not in a demeaning way. That cannot be allowed to happen.

Further Remarks by Chernomyrdin, Deputy Premiers

LD1312133293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0610 GMT on 13 December, in its "Mayak Panorama" program, broadcasts recordings of election night interviews with Deputy Prime Ministers Shumeyko and Chubays, and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin.

The program announcer begins by saying: "Now we shall listen to a few of the assessments. The preliminary results of the voting on the draft constitution were summed up by First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Government Vladimir Shumeyko".

Shumeyko says: "I am telling you as chairman of the Government Commission for organizing and holding the nationwide vote on the draft constitution that Russia's Constitution has been adopted, something I congratulate all of you with. Some 60 percent of Russians voted today in favor of the Constitution. And that is the most important event which has taken place in these elections. Today the country has acquired a stable road of development. Today power has been finally been established in the country, in Russia."

Shumeyko goes on to say: "So, I hope that we will be working in a stable and normal fashion. And I wish those representatives of preelection blocs, parties, and movements—during the night it will become clear which of them has gotten through—I wish all of them fruitful legislative work in the Duma. I hope, nevertheless, that there will be a democratic majority in the Duma and that the government will find it easier to work, together, relying on this economic legislation.

"And I would like to draw the attention of all Russians and of those who work in the Duma and in the parliament's upper chamber. Much has been promised. Russians have been promised much. I believe that only one bloc, Russia's Choice, has not promised anyone anything. It said: We are making reforms and we shall continue them, even though they are proceeding with difficulty. I suggest that your promises are turned into deeds. And 13 December is

already here. So, economic legislation is indeed needed to raise wages and to enable our commodity producers to develop."

The results of the elections were also assessed by Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays in his election night interview. He says:

"The first thing which, it appears, is happening—and which is not a sensation, is that our bloc, Russia's Choice, is to all appearances holding on to first place. This is, of course, gratifying. But at the same time, I think that we have paid a very dear price for the fact that the democrats have been unable to reach agreement, for the fact that personal ambitions have prevailed over common sense. And my personal assessment, and indeed on the whole also the assessment of the Russia's Choice bloc that a victory or a second place for a fascist party in Russia is a terrible price for the democrats' inability to reach agreement among themselves. It remains for us to hope that immediately after 12 December we shall be able to rectify the mistakes which we ourselves made prior to 12 December. A resolute bloc, a resolute coalition of democrats against the fascist threat in Russia is absolute necessary."

Finally, the announcer says: "And here is the point of view of the chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers on how relations between the new parliament and the government will develop. Here is Viktor Chernomyrdin."

Chernomyrdin says: "I am expecting normal, good work, professional work—work which, I think, the government will always be able to build on a professional level. A large block, a package of documents has been prepared which we will be taking to the parliament. And you know that in this interval, in this two-month interval during which we have been working without a parliament, many decrees and documents—an entire package—have been adopted so as to submit them afterwards for examination in parliament. That is why the government needs the parliament to get going as quickly as possible and that is what we expect. The first thing that needs revising is the law on enterprises. Various people will come to parliament, but on the whole, after all, they will be professionals. That is why, for a professional parliament, with professional people, with a professional parliament it will be easier to work. I think that we will always find understanding and agree on what the government needs to do."

Kozyrev on Results of Elections, U.S. Observer

LD1312193693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Vladimir Beletskiy on 13 December; place not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Andrey Vladimirovich, how do you assess the results of these elections?

[Kozyrev] It is still too early to sum up the results of the elections. Regarding the constitution, I think this is one more mandate for the president. This is now the third

mandate in two years. This is of course the completion of the tremendous historic path of democratic revolution.

[Beletskiy] How do you assess the participation of the U.S. observer in the Central Electoral Commission news conference?

[Kozyrev] Categorically negative. I think all observers should make their contribution. I would like that contribution to be much bigger and altogether in support of Russian reforms. And altogether, of course, regarding the planning and organization of the elections and organization of the election campaign, the democrats, my colleagues from Russia's Choice among others, have something to think about to put it plainly, and we have already spoken about this today with members of the leadership of our own bloc.

Fedorov Expresses Concern Over Election Results

LD1312113993 London BBC Television Network in English 0700 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Interview with Finance Minister Boris Fedorov by correspondent Ben Brown in Moscow on 13 December; from the "Breakfast News" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] One of the architects of President Yeltsin's economic reforms, the finance minister, Boris Fedorov, has expressed concern over the election results. In an interview with "Breakfast News" he said he feared the strong showing by the Nationalist Liberal Democrat Party would create a parliament at odds with Mr. Yeltsin's policies.

[Fedorov] It worries me quite a lot, because obviously with very thin majority you cannot [words indistinct], really very deep reforms, and it will mean constant confrontation.

[Brown] Are you likely to slow down your reform program given the success of the communists, and the nationalists, because surely that was a protest vote by many people against your policies?

[Fedorov] We were not going too fast in my opinion, even before. So I don't think there is any scope for slowing down. If you're really seriously intent on making, implementing reforms. But it means that the stability of the government is in danger, it means that the new parliament will not be easy, and it will affect reforms, like the last parliament was a major handicap in the way of reforms.

[Brown] Do you think Boris Yeltsin is going to find this parliament as difficult to deal with as the last one?

[Fedorov] Ultimately, especially if we do not have enough political will from president and government, it could be as bad as the previous one.

[Brown] Now that President Yeltsin has managed at last to get his new constitution through and approved, isn't there a danger that in some ways he's going to be able to rule as effectively as an elected dictator?

[Fedorov] Well, not as a dictator, because if you look at the powers which are there in some Western democracies, presidents have even more authority than our president has. At the same time I think we should not expect any major changes, especially in the economic policy while President Yeltsin is in office.

Election Commission's Ryabov Comments on Results
LD1312153193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Early results of voting in the constitutional referendum suggest that the Fundamental Law has been passed but it will not be introduced until official results are made public. Central Election Commission (CEC) Chairman Nikolay Ryabov told a group of European Union observers.

Ryabov emphasized that the early data the CEC had reported on the referendum voting made some people mistakenly think that the figures were not accurate.

In his view, journalists and observers tend to forget that some voters carry the ballot sheets away with them or damage them.

The CEC chairman noted that the elections had not taken place in Tatarstan, Chechnya, and two or three other regions but this "would have no effect at all on the working capacity and quorum in either house of the Federal Assembly."

Ryabov said that the first official preliminary election results from voting on the federal list of candidates from election blocs would only be available by Monday [13 December] night at best.

Speaking of the electoral success scored by Zhirinovskiy's party, Ryabov said that "while they were sparring at one another, the democratically-minded organizations quite forgot about the Liberal Democratic Party which was having the time of its life." In Ryabov's view, it is only the imperfection in legislation that explains why "numerous activities of some electoral blocs, which would be viewed as criminal in advanced countries, are still seen here as mere jokes."

Sees Support for Yeltsin

LD1312164893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1516 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Novikov and Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec—"In voting for a new Russian constitution our people have demonstrated support for Boris Yeltsin," Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov said at a news conference here today. He pointed out that "the question of confidence in the president was indirectly on the agenda." "Now the question of early elections for Boris Yeltsin automatically lapses, since the electorate has voted for a constitution which asserts

that the president performs his duties for the whole term of his mandate," Nikolay Ryabov said.

The head of the Central Electoral Commission announced preliminary results for voting on the draft of the new Russian constitution. There were 105,284,000 Russians registered on the electoral roll. Of these, 55,987,000 took part in the voting. "It can be said with total certainty that the vote on the Constitution has been validated," Nikolay Ryabov emphasized.

A political conclusion may be drawn from the results of the elections—Russia is entering a new historical stage of development, the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission stated. He recalled the fundamental difference between the new Russian constitution and the previous one which was "the constitution of a union republic which was part of a union state."

How did the voting on the constitution go? Nikolay Ryabov said that the range of votes wasn't very great, from 45 percent to 70 percent of the electorate. The percentage of citizens taking part in voting to the Federal Assembly is also within this range.

While saying that the activity of the electorate could have been greater, Nikolay Ryabov noted that the weather and climatic conditions influenced this process to a certain extent. There is another side of the coin, he said, the tough demands placed on the electorate. This time, voting took place according to residence. "This was unexpected for many people of Russia," Nikolay Ryabov noted, recalling that the law on elections influenced the number of those who voted.

Nikolay Ryabov recalled the tight schedule of the preparations for and the holding of the elections. He said "this was determined not by the will of any people but by the political situation which had taken shape." In Nikolay Ryabov's opinion, if this schedule had been further extended, this would have had more negative consequences for Russia.

"But problems cropped up for the elector in connection with the tight schedule of preparations for the elections and the national voting on the draft Constitution. It was difficult for him to grasp the huge number of candidate deputies, not to mention the 13 electoral associations," Nikolay Ryabov said.

In his opinion, this had its effect on the number of those taking part in the elections; hardly more than half the registered electors came to the polling stations. "But this figure entirely satisfies us," the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission noted. "I do not think this circumstance affected the results of the voting."

Elections to both houses of the Federal Assembly have taken place, Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, told a news conference today. They "failed in Chechnya and in Tatarstan," he noted. "But in accordance with the constitution, the normal work of the State Duma would not have been in jeopardy even if the

elections did not take place in 20 or even 23 constituencies," the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission explained. "Provisions of the new constitution make this allowance for the adoption of laws."

Today, the commission cannot give a general overview of which parties failed to clear the 5-percent barrier in the election campaign, Nikolay Ryabov said. He noted that it is impossible to obtain these results in such a short period of time. But one can already surmise that about one half of the electoral associations failed to clear the barrier, i.e. failed to get 5 or more percent of the vote."

According to the commission's information, the Liberal Democratic Party is leading in several regions, and in others it shares second and third place with the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

Nikolay Ryabov gave the results for the poll of Russians living abroad. Results have been received from 180 of the 277 polling stations abroad. Seventy-two percent voted for the constitution there, 23 percent voted for Russia's Choice, 18 percent for Yavlinskiy's bloc, 9.5 percent for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, and 9.3 percent for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.

Nikolay Ryabov expressed the certainty that the new parliament "will be represented by a fairly wide range of political forces." Ryabov believes that the Commission will have the preliminary result of the elections in the federation-wide constituency by tomorrow evening. It will have the final result once Moscow has all the returns and this will evidently be in a week's time at the earliest.

Further on Results

LD1312173693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1653 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec—At a news conference today, Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, admitted that the Liberal Democratic Party "has won, unexpectedly for society, considerably more votes at the elections to the State Duma than could be forecast". However, "it would be too big a responsibility to claim that Russia is on the brink of fascism, therefore he cannot either support or refute this view," Nikolay Ryabov said, answering questions from journalists. He recalled that fascism is described as the plague of the 20th century, and we still live in this century.

To persistent requests from journalists to give information on preliminary voting results for the 13 electoral associations, Nikolay Ryabov said that data has not been yet processed on 20 subjects of the Federation, and as soon as it is completed the media will immediately be given the relevant information.

Journalists wanted to know whether the new Russian Constitution would be in effect in those areas of the Federation where under 50 percent of electors voted for it. In reply, the Central Electoral Commission chairman

clarified that the Constitution adopted by the people will come into effect after it is published by the Central Electoral Commission, and will cover the entire Russian Federation, regardless of how individual regions voted on it.

Chechen Vice President Comments on Elections

LD1312193593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Chechen Vice President Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev declared that Russia has been always characterized by empirirical thinking and totalitarian ideology and the Russian people have been taught to consider non-Russian peoples as the major source of their misfortunes. In his words, "the preliminary results of the elections and the preference given to the Liberal-Democratic Party and communists once more demonstrate the above."

"Now it is clear that people who have been in colonial dependence upon Russia must make a choice because they should not go Russia's way," he said in an interview with INTERFAX while commenting the preliminary results of the elections to the Federal assembly and on the referendum on RF [Russian Federation] Constitution.

North Ossetian Leader Views New Constitution

LD1312195793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1940 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 13 TASS— "The elections to the Federal Assembly and the referendum on the draft new constitution of Russia were good in the Republic of North Ossetia," North Ossetian Parliament Chairman Askharbek Galazov said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday, Galazov said that according to preliminary data 57.9 per cent of the electorate took part in the voting in the republic.

"The major factor is that a new constitution of Russia is adopted. It will be corrected, but this document will provide the basis upon which the life of our society will be built. Both the president and the parliament will have to reckon with it," he said.

Analysing the situation in the republic, Galazov said that it remains complex in the zone of the state of emergency in North Ossetia and Ingushetia. The republic's leadership is doing everything possible to prevent a new tragedy in the region, he said.

Party Leaders' Reaction

Paper Cites Party Leaders on Preliminary Results

PM1312162593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Feature comprising interviews with Yegor Gaydar by INTERFAX; Vladimir Zhirinovskiy by G. Simanovich and INTERFAX; Gennadiy Zyuganov by Georgiy

Melikiyants; Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by Konstantin Eggert; and Arkadiy Volskiy by Valeriy Vyzhutovich; places and dates not given; under general headline: "Elections As Viewed by Leaders of Parties and Blocs"]

[Text] When the leaders of the political blocs and parties which took part in the elections gave these interviews to our correspondents they of course had only the preliminary results of the voting. But the likely disposition of forces in the future parliament can already be judged even from those incomplete election results.

Yegor Gaydar, leader of the "Russia's Choice" bloc, noted in an interview for INTERFAX:

"For the stability of democracy in Russia it is absolutely necessary to create a broad democratic coalition in the State Duma.

"'Russia's Choice' is ready to organize a democratic coalition regardless of who said what during the election campaign.

"The probable success of the extremists is a consequence of the socioeconomic transformation which Russia is experiencing and to an enormous extent a consequence of the split within the democrats' ranks. We are ready to cooperate with all constructive forces but will hardly be able to cooperate with the fascists."

"I will be in constructive opposition," Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], told our correspondent G. Simanovich during a nighttime TV show. "Members of our party will enter the government. And soon the Communists and supporters of 'Russia's Choice' will join OUR government.

"Ten days of campaigning were not enough for me. And but for the outright lie against us and the shameless attempts to discredit our party, 70 percent of Russians would have voted for us and we would have been the parliamentary majority party. Russia would then have had a strong parliament and a strong chairman of the government, and the president would then have calmly performed representative functions. And we would have resolved the economic problems in the next few years."

"What is the reason for your success?"

"We took a new direction. It is like a new medicine. What is in it? Cessation of all aid to other states, stopping the conversion of military production, and eliminating organized crime within a few months by the most resolute measures. That will please everyone.

"The election results." V. Zhirinovskiy stressed in an interview for INTERFAX's correspondent, "correspond to the will of the people, who want a different political force and have got it—our party."

Anticipating the possible reaction of Western countries to the LDPR's election success, Zhirinovskiy noted: "I believe that the West will reflect and be reassured because it needs a stable Russia, and under our party Russia will be stable."

Zhirinovskiy stressed that the LDPR "would happily sweep Chubays, Kozyrev, Gaydar, and Shakhrai from the government." The LDPR leader characterized Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin as a representative of the "old nomenklatura" and supported the appointment of a new head of the cabinet. "A new government needs a new, strong chairman," Zhirinovskiy stressed. In his words, the LDPR is ready to put forward its candidate for this post, but that will not be the leader of the party.

Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, said in an interview with IZVESTIYA correspondent Georgiy Melikiyants:

"The preliminary results of the elections have shown—and this is the most important thing—that the course of shock therapy and universal collapse have suffered a crushing defeat. The pragmatic and realistic forces must draw an important conclusion from that: No constitutions or coups will change the situation unless the direction of movement and its bearings are changed.

"The elections also showed that the mass media possess tremendous power, but they failed to ensure the equal participation of all the sides in the campaigning process, which enabled populism to make a strong showing. On the whole our party is satisfied with the results of the vote; furthermore, we believe that the winners in the single-seat and two-seat districts were clearly candidates of a left-center orientation committed to Russian collectivism and social justice. In general the left-center coalition will play a great role in modern life.

"As for the Constitution, the attempt to force it through without discussion also suffered defeat, such a Constitution cannot survive and function. I think that an especially negative attitude toward it was expressed in the national republics.

"In the new parliament the communists will work to form a balanced coalition, offer their version of constitutional reforms, and support a government of national confidence capable of governing and not being merely a political club."

"I am convinced that those 10-12 percent of the votes which will be picked up by the 'Yabloko' bloc might have gone to Zhirinovskiy or Zyuganov," Grigoriy Yavlinskiy declared in an interview with IZVESTIYA correspondent Konstantin Eggert.

It is paradoxical, but at the same time the leader of the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc believes that the voters who supported him disagree only with the methods of implementing socioeconomic policy proposed by "Russia's Choice" and approve of the ideas of democracy and market economics as a whole.

Yavlinskiy obviously is not yet prepared to answer directly the question of the terms on which he will agree to form a coalition with Gaydar's bloc. "We are prepared to agree to this with regard to the fundamental issues on which our positions coincide," he said.

Grigoriy Alekseyevich believes that the situation in the economy demands structural changes. "Inflation in Russia has been caused not only by the budget deficit and soft credit policy," he declared. "The reason also lies in super-monopolization, the extreme weakness of the private sector, and the lack of competition." "Real unemployment, Yavlinskiy maintained, "is far higher than the official 1 percent, since the vast mass of people who formally earn 20,000-30,000 rubles a month essentially already receive an allowance. We cannot get by without unemployment, but it is important that it is structured. It is very easy for Zhirinovskiy to conduct propaganda when the miners and gas workers are not paid their wages for months on end while the salaries of working people in budget-funded sectors are doubled in parallel," "Yabloko's" leader believes.

Arkadiy Volskiy, leader of "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress," said in conversation with IZVESTIYA correspondent Valeriy Vyzhutovich:

"Not even the preliminary elections results have been published yet. But it is possible to speak of trends. To all appearances, our bloc will not surmount the 5-percent barrier in the interparty struggle, although it will, I believe, achieve relative success in the single-seat districts. Quite honestly, we did not have any particular illusions of victory, particularly in the last week before the elections, when we saw the indomitable energy, the refinement, and the inventiveness with which Zhirinovskiy recruits his supporters. His success in the elections attests to the profound stratification of our society, which is liable to be tempted by easy and simple solutions. At the same time this is what is significant: The people have voted not so much for Zhirinovskiy as against their own impoverishment, against disregard for the vital social needs of millions of Russians, against the thoughtless practice of reforms.

"Zhirinovskiy is obliged to the press, to television above all, for his political rise. How was it possible not to comment on the monologues delivered by the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia on all the television channels!

"As a result, we will obtain an extremely polarized parliament. Any decision will be blocked and it will become very difficult, if not impossible, to reach a compromise. Thus, centrism has proved unwanted, not least because the press, both right-wing and left-wing, intimidated the people with it. An attraction for extremes has once again prevailed, promising neither the new parliament nor society tranquility and stability."

Further Reaction to Zhirinovskiy Success

LD1412121493 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Editorial Report] London BBC Television Network in English at 2230 GMT on 13 December broadcasts, as part of its "Newsnight" program, a 12-minute report by correspondent Bridgett Kendall on the Russian election results, which includes recorded remarks and interviews in the

Kremlin on 13 December with Yeltsin adviser Sergey Stankevich, Privatization Minister Anatoliy Chubays, Yeltsin's press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov, Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, and Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar. All speak in English except for Kostikov and Zhirinovskiy who speak in Russian with superimposed English translation.

The report opens with interviews with members of the public at a horse-race meeting on their opinions of Zhirinovskiy.

Chubays begins: "The main question is the position of Mr. Zhirinovskiy, which is my personal evaluation is extremely dangerous. I guess that it's not the Liberal Democratic Party that they call themselves, but it's just a fascist party."

The report then shows Gaydar at a news conference. He says: "I think that it would be enormous danger, not only to Russia but to the entire humanity if there would be the slightest chance this man could really become the president of Russia."

The report continues with shots of Zhirinovskiy in his home, followed by archive clips of his presidential campaign against Yeltsin two years ago, further shots of his recent political rallies in Moscow and Zhirinovskiy greeting his supporters who went to Iraq to fight alongside Saddam Husayn.

Kostikov is then interviewed, he says: "I know Zhirinovskiy's program, he supports a strong state and strong presidential powers. And I think there's grounds for cooperation with his party. The president wants to be the president of all Russians."

The correspondent then asks: "So you're not excluding the possibility that he could be made a minister?"

Kostikov replies: "If Russians are voting for him it's because they value what he says. And I don't see any reason why he shouldn't be a minister."

The correspondent speaks next to Chubays, saying: "I just spoke to the president's spokesman, Mr. Kostikov, and he said he couldn't exclude the possibility that Mr. Zhirinovskiy might be given a ministerial post in the new government." Chubays responds: "I would exclude it 400 percent." The correspondent then says: "But he is the presidential spokesman saying he is not excluding it. Is this a division then between President Yeltsin and members of Russia's Choice in the government?"

Chubays replies: "I'm not sure that that's the position of the president, but now I'm expressing just the position of Choice of Russia. And I could officially say that if Mr. Zhirinovskiy would have any kind of official post in government, Russia's Choice would immediately go to the opposition."

Next Zyuganov says: "The reforms we have at the moment are utterly destructive and erected against the people. In essence all they offer is the collapse of the state and the nation."

Zhirinovskiy is then seen at a table. He says: "I'll be busy preparing for the presidential elections, but members of my cabinet here will deal with affairs of state and I'll advise them. However if they really insist I'm ready to be prime minister." The correspondent then asks: "But Mr. Chubays says he won't have anything to do with you. So you can't do a deal with Russia's Choice can you?" Zhirinovskiy responds: "Well I don't like Chubays, he's sold off too much of Russia's property, he'll have to leave the government. As for Gaydar he can go back to being a journalist and he can write articles about what a mess he made of the economy."

The correspondent then asks: "When do you want new presidential elections?" Zhirinovskiy replies: "Whenever he wants them. If he wants to resign in 1994 that's fine by me. If he wants to go on to the end of his term, it'll be a great birthday present for me as I'll be 50 in 1996."

The report then shows a recording of an interview with Sergey Stankevich. Kendall says: "I asked him first how far Mr. Zhirinovskiy's success could have been predicted."

Stankevich replies: "The scope of the success is absolutely unexpected, yes, and it is very serious signal to all democrats and reformers in Russia. We should learn this lesson and make proper conclusions." The correspondent then asks: "And what lesson is there to learn?" Stankevich replies: "The lesson is that it's impossible to continue the same course in reforming Russia. It's impossible to continue the same rhetoric as was proposed by Russia's Choice coalition. If everything goes well there is no alternative to what we are doing and there should be no changes in governmental course. We should simply continue the same things. If people who are really suffering hear such kind of rhetoric, [word indistinct] rhetoric and understand that there will be no changes in their awful situation they grow angry and switch to Zhirinovskiy." The correspondent then asks: "Do you think then that President Yeltsin is prepared to deal with him?" Stankevich replies: "I cannot imagine any form of cooperation between Yeltsin and Zhirinovskiy. Yeltsin is Yeltsin and it's impossible to push him into this right-wing direction. He will continue his difficult job, no doubt."

The correspondent next asks: "Do you think now that one can say that the new parliament will be even worse than the old parliament?" Stankevich replies: "Yes I think that democratic forces, first of all Russia's Choice which was leading force and have all necessary things to win—failed to win convincingly. And I'm afraid that future parliament will be splintered and not absolutely predictable."

The correspondent then asks: "But President Yeltsin now has a new constitution which gives him significant powers. Do you think it's likely that he could just ignore the parliament if he finds it difficult to work with?" Stankevich replies: "I think that president will use quite substantial authorities given by the constitution properly in order to continue Russian reforms. He cannot absolutely ignore the parliament, but he can be relatively independent from the danger presented by Zhirinovskiy in the parliament."

Russia's Choice Leaders Assess Election Results

LD1312092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0851
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Moscow December 13 ITAR-TASS—The democrats today bemoaned lack of agreement between various democratic coalitions and parties during the electoral campaign, which gave "too many votes" to groupings on the other end of the political spectrum. "We have to pay a great price for the failure to reach accord, for our calls to have been left unheeded," Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays told ITAR-TASS. This price will be exacted by the numerous seats in the parliament occupied by the Liberal Democratic Party "which, according to preliminary data, is in the lead, is nothing else but pure Russian fascism," he said.

Proceeding from these preliminary results of the voting, Anatoliy Chubays said it was necessary to make all efforts to rally candidates from the democratic coalitions in the parliament. "We must do this," Chubays stressed.

First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar, the leader of Russia's Choice, said that the success "of the extremists is a result of a new social economic formation which Russia is now experiencing as well as of the split in the camp of the Democrats". "It will be very sad if the discord among the Democrats will play the same role which Stalin played who ensured the split of the anti-fascist front," Gaydar said.

Responding to a question from ITAR-TASS about whether he is ready to cooperate with all political forces in the Federal Assembly as the president of the Russian Federation promised, Yegor Gaydar told ITAR-TASS: "We are hardly ready to cooperate with fascists".

Federal Information Centre chief Mikhail Poltoranin praised the preliminary results of the elections but told ITAR-TASS that on the other hand they could not be seen as quite satisfactory. "The dispersion of the democratic forces and the tactics pursued by the people who called themselves Democrats in the electoral struggle have yielded their own fruit. Fascism is crawling in on the shoulders of our discords and ambitions".

According to Mikhail Poltoranin, the democratic forces have yet to think through this sad result of our electoral campaign. [passage omitted]

Gaydar on Comparison With Weimar Germany

LD1312061693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2252 GMT on 12 December carries as part of its special election coverage from the "RTV Operational Information Center" a 10-minute live interview with Yegor Gaydar, first deputy prime minister and leader of the Russia's Choice Bloc, by Nikolay Svnidze.

Svnidze asks Gaydar to assess the preliminary election results. Gaydar responds: "I think that the adoption of the constitution—and it seems that the constitution has been adopted—is a positive action in itself. It is a step toward setting in order relations between the structures of power.

As far as what is known so far about the results of the elections to the Duma, in my view, they give rise to serious apprehensions."

Gaydar then compares the development of Russia today to the Weimar Republic, saying: "It is true, in my view, that a number of risks and problems faced by the young and unstable Russian democracy, which is just in the process of being formed, produce a situation similar to that in Weimar Germany—including economic instability, weak and fragmented democracy, and the airy promises of populists. Experience shows that in a situation like that, the emergence of a party that is capable of and prepared to play up the three basic and usual methods—the more you lie, the more eagerly they believe; promise things to everyone and create an enemy out of foreigners; and promise to hurt—leads to an effective policy—dangerous, but effective. As things stand today, in my view, Russian society is being tested on whether or not it will yield to these temptations. The results of the elections show that this is a serious test."

Svanidze says he shares Gaydar's concern about the similarities between Russia and Germany in the thirties.

Gaydar continues: "To be honest, I do not believe in the reality of the fascist threat to Russia." He notes the failure of democratic forces to unify at the beginning of the campaign and says that the "most important task" now is "to try at any cost to forge an effective democratic coalition in the future Duma."

Asked who he sees as allies, Gaydar answers "all democratic blocs who enter the Duma."

Answering a question on his mood, Gaydar says: "Emotionally, I am anxious. I do not share the mood of a festival of democracy. I hope very much that we will manage to form a democratic coalition. I do not think that in our situation fascists' coming to power in Russia is guaranteed to any extent at all. If that does happen, it will be the result of our complete inability to carry out economic and political work."

Returning to the issue of blame for the success of the non-reform parties, Gaydar says: "Speaking of who is guilty, I would say on the whole the democrats are to blame for failing to coordinate their activity—this is serious. I am convinced that this strife is playing to a large extent into the hands of the opponents of democracy in Russia. I think that we were probably not effective enough as far as our rather insistent—they seemed to us—attempts to form such a coalition were concerned. We failed to assess in good time the sweetness of simple promises to a tired country that does not want to hear boring, unpleasant, and repellent truth, and at least a large part of which is ready sometimes to believe a sweet, charming, and pretty lie."

Gaydar on 'Very Serious Problems'

LD1312191193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by unidentified reporter in Moscow on 13 December; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Yegor Gaydar and Sergey Kovalev, leaders of the Russia's Choice bloc, called for the creation of a broad coalition of democratic forces in the new parliament at a meeting with journalists today. In an exclusive interview for our program Yegor Gaydar said in part.

[Gaydar] First, I would not display euphoria about the election results. They have shown up very serious problems which face our society and which, without any doubt, will influence the work of the future parliament. As for reshuffles in the government, of course, certain changes will be inevitable and I would like to hope that they will be changes that will make it possible at the same time to make the course of reforms more stable and consistent because, in my view, the main cost to society has been the cost of wavering and inconsistency.

There will inevitably be disagreements on individual specific issues. We will discuss them in parliament, we will discuss them in parliament, including with the democratic factions. But the main thing, in my view, is that these individual disagreements should not get in the way of constructive joint work. I can see clearly that we are going to have a powerful opposition, an opposition which is categorically opposed to the reforms as such. Our main opportunity is to start work on enabling a legislative base to be created. The reforms need to continue.

[Reporter] Will you remain in your post?

[Gaydar] [laughs] For the time being, at least, I am carrying out my duties.

[Reporter] What if one looks into the future?

[Gaydar] That will depend on how the policy of the government and of the president is shaped over the next few months and years, and on what the priorities of that policy are. I am confident that if continuation of the reform policy is one of its priority, I will remain in my post.

Gaydar Rejects Cooperation With Zhirinovskiy

LD1312213293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2011 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Russian First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, a leader of the bloc Russia's Choice, does not think that the democratic forces have suffered a defeat at the December 12 elections. However, speaking at a press conference on Monday [13 December] in Moscow he said that "the fascists' advent to parliament is, of course, a defeat for Russian democracy."

Gaydar believes that the government should introduce corrections into the policy pursued by it given results of the

elections. In his words, the essence of these corrections is that the cabinet "cannot afford to make excessive unjustified compromises and postpone decisions which should have been adopted long ago."

Gaydar "does not rule out" the resignation of the present government though he deems it "hardly likely." "It is the president who must solve this issue," he said.

Gaydar declared that Russia's Choice "will resolutely come out for formation of a wide democratic coalition as soon as possible." In addition, in Gaydar's words, his bloc is "prepared for this coalition to influence those changes in the government which apparently will take place within the next few weeks."

Gaydar does not rule out that political opponents of Russia's Choice "can be entrusted with" several key posts in the government "for the sake of creation of an anti-fascist coalition." At the same time he declared that "we rule out any cooperation with Zhirinovskiy in one and the same government."

Another leader of the bloc Russia's Choice Sergey Kovalev said that "as long as Zhirinovskiy's party remains as it is today there cannot be any questions regarding cooperation with the Liberal Democratic Party."

Gaydar underlined that democrats are ready to cooperate with everybody, including communists in an anti-fascist coalition.

Gaydar has reaffirmed that he deems "it extremely inexpedient" to hold presidential elections in 1994.

According to the constitution, it is the president's prerogative to form the government, leader of the bloc Russia's Choice and first Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar declared at a press conference on Monday in Moscow.

"The president has not informed me that he intends to form the government in compliance with the wish of Mr. Zhirinovskiy," said Gaydar. At the request of Interfax Gaydar commented public demands of the Liberal Democratic party's leader to remove Gaydar, Chubays, and several other supporters of radical reforms from the government.

Gaydar underlined that there is still no complete information on the results of the elections, however, according to available information, one can say that this is "a serious lesson for the democratic forces."

"We have underestimated a serious danger for Russia, a danger of radical national extremism," he said. In Gaydar's opinion, Zhirinovskiy's success is also connected with miscalculations in the democratic camp, with its inability to achieve unity of actions. During the pre-election campaigning the democrats had frequently focused their efforts on mutual critics, not noticing a serious threat on the part of national extremism.

Nevertheless, one should not dramatize the situation, believes Gaydar. "The results show that the draft of the new Constitution has been approved and it is the backbone

of Russia's future politics. In addition, the results of the voting on majority districts will probably be more favorable for democrats than on party lists," he said.

In Gaydar's estimate, the democratic wing of the future parliament will be able to paralyze all attempts to change the course aimed at transformations. "Much will depend on whether the parliament's democratic factions will be able to unite," he declared.

Gaydar appealed to form a wide democratic coalition both inside the parliament and outside it as soon as possible.

Sergey Kovalev, another leader of Russia's Choice and a prominent lawyer, views the formation of such a coalition as the most important task. "We lost Sakharov 4 years ago and today we may lose the country," he said.

More on Gaydar Call For Coalition

MK1412101093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Kuznets, Dmitriy Volkov report under the "Mobilization" rubric: "'Russia's Choice' Calls For Broad Coalition. Sergey Kovalev: 'Sobering Up May Come Too Late'"]

[Text] The Russia's Choice electoral bloc called yesterday for forming a broad coalition to oppose a fascist threat. Its executive committee will discuss a platform for a future alliance tomorrow, following which it intends to start consultations with potential partners. Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the Russia's Choice coalition, stated at a press conference: "The coalition will be formed in the following manner—it will be expanded by as much as it takes to block the fascist bloc's decisions."

Russia's Choice leader Yegor Gaydar advised that he is not inclined to "overdramatize"—according to preliminary data, the constitution has been passed, the government is formed by the president, "there will be personnel changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers soon." According to him, the government's economic course is also supposed to be revised. "Things that should have been done in spring 1993 and have not been done to this today, should be done now," he said, declaring that Choice would press for a tougher economic course and rejection of compromises.

Democrats, however, seem to be seriously worried, in addition to the future of today's or a revised cabinet, at the state of Russian society. "The people have been cheated by populist promises. The awakening may come too late and prove too rude," Sergey Kovalev stated. "Should the Russian Federation Communist Party wish to cooperate with us in the struggle against the fascists, it is welcome," Yegor Gaydar declared.

He made it clear, however, that Russia's Choice is not prepared to depart from fundamental liberal values in cooperating with any political forces, saying that the coalition would "accept all who have wise proposals, and we will not consider those whose proposals are unwise."

Obviously, proposals on letting partners have "some ministerial positions" will be considered among the wise ones. To all appearances, Choice is sure that some sense of fright has also spilled over to the other parties that had criticized it. Yegor Gaydar in particular spoke sharply against the presidential elections called for the summer of 1994 that Grigoriy Yavlinskiy insisted on but which have not yet been called off by Boris Yeltsin's edict. He estimated as "very high" the chances for having an absolute majority of an anti-fascist coalition in parliament. This gives reason to suppose that Choice does not think Mr. Yavlinskiy is the only frightened political leader of today's Russia.

"Our chance to avoid a new victory for fascism lies in making the economy grow," Mr. Gaydar stated, thus leaving for his recent opponents room for speculating on how this can be achieved.

Gaydar: Zhirinovskiy's Showing 'Not Unexpected'

MK1412095093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by Lev Bruni and Dmitriy Ostalskiy under the "Assessment" rubric: "'The Comicality of This Figure Misled Us.' Yegor Gaydar's First Impressions"]

[Text] [SEGODNYA] Yegor Timurovich, what is your assessment of what has transpired?

[Gaydar] To my mind, the elections have graphically demonstrated, first, to what extent ours is a sick society that experiences a very difficult process of change and adaptation to a new world.

Second, they have shown that militant, extremist, populist propaganda is very effective. They have shown the great risk related to the fragmentation of, let's say, forces favoring the country's peaceful, democratic development. On the whole, it seems to me that working in the parliament that will be elected will be fairly difficult. A lot of things will depend on the degree to which the democrats, in the broad sense of this word, will be able to draw some lessons and to bring their own ambitions in line with the medium-term prospects for a stable situation in the country or at least with their own prospects for the future.

[SEGODNYA] What signals have already emerged from other democratic blocs?

[Gaydar] We have not talked so far, but this is our crucial objective.

[SEGODNYA] Do you think the mass presence of Zhirinovskiy's party in the Duma will be a positive or negative factor for him with a view to contesting the presidential elections of 1996?

[Gaydar] I think it will be positive, because he is getting a legal rostrum, he is getting a legal status, and so are his loyalists; he himself is getting the best legal rostrum to engage in aggressive, populist mass propaganda or lying, to put it simply. Of course, he will try to do his utmost to exploit this rostrum to the full extent.

[SEGODNYA] How unexpected for you was the percentage of the vote won by Zhirinovskiy's party?

[Gaydar] It was not unexpected after I saw a poll conducted by the All-Russian Public Opinion Studies Center. At the beginning of the campaign, of course, it was unexpected. Frankly speaking, a certain degree of comicality [komicnost] in this figure, a parody of sorts of Adolf Hitler, misled us. We did not fully realize at the time how serious the threat was.

[SEGODNYA] Are the democrats aware that the constitution has been approved in large measure thanks to the votes of Zhirinovskiy's loyalists? Or that he sees it as if it were designed for him?

[Gaydar] I am deeply convinced that a constitution can defend democracy inasmuch as democracy is able to defend itself.

Chubays on Reasons for Zhirinovskiy's Success

LD1212233093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 2220 GMT on 12 December carries a report in which Anatoliy Borisovich Chubays, chairman of the Russian State Committee for State Property and one of the leaders of the Russia's Choice Bloc, comments on the voting results so far. Chubays says that the elections have been very dramatic, "because Russia has taken a step that may cost all of us very dear, not just in the economy, but also in politics. Unfortunately, bloody consequences of what took place today cannot be ruled out, either. I have in mind the success of the fascists, headed by Zhirinovskiy, whom no one took seriously, no one regarded as serious—but this is unadulterated Russian fascism."

Chubays feels it is regrettable that serious political parties preferred to campaign against Russia's Choice, not regarding Zhirinovskiy as a serious opponent, but unworthy of any special effort. "God willing, this event will prompt the democratic blocs to become aware of the dramatic nature of the situation and to unite in the parliament. The way I see it is that, in essence, Russia's future, generally speaking, depends on whether or not democrats will be able to understand what they have gone and done. Will they be able, after what took place today, to unite in the State Duma or not? The point is that I am deeply convinced that there is no threat of communism being restored in Russia. Russia is only too aware of what communism is and it has traversed too long a path over the last two years. A Communist Party ought to exist in Russia and there is a proportion of the population supporting it and that is natural and normal—but there are no serious chances for communism to be restored in our country.

"However, as far as fascism is concerned, the situation is much more dramatic. It is a matter of great regret that tens of millions of people were cheated, were cheated by Mr. Zhirinovskiy's brilliant propaganda, full of lies from the first words to the last words, full of crazy promises from the beginning to the end, not a single one of which lends itself to being fulfilled. However, these are precisely the

kind of promises people wanted to hear. Actually, the entire success of Zhirinovskiy's propaganda consisted in the fact that he was telling the people exactly what they wanted to hear. This was a brilliant instinct, brilliantly executed. Regretfully, there turned out in Russia to be a sufficient number of people who believed in all this. It would be very desirable to get out of this situation without tragic outcome."

Chubays recalls what happened in Germany this century when fascists were not taken seriously—10 million died in Germany and Russia lost 20 million and the whole world suffered a terrible disaster. "When today I hear how Zhirinovskiy says that the third world war will happen here, pointing to Russia's southern borders, my hair stands on end. How sad that this was shown so late in the day, how sad we were unable in good time to explain to people the monstrous threat posed by this man and the fascist party he leads."

The presenter concludes, "Let us hope that even-handed approach will gain the upper hand", to which Chubays replies "Let us hope so".

Chubays Rejects Cooperation With Zhirinovskiy

LD1312004493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0015
GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays, who is running for parliament with the Russia's Choice Bloc, denied the possibility of cooperation with nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in future parliament because this could lead to the third world war.

"Cooperation with the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leader is impossible under any conditions", he told Tass on Monday. "Nothing what Zhirinovskiy has promised can be fulfilled. And if we try to fulfil it there will be the third world war", he said, but added that the success of the LDPR is not a tragedy, but an "important signal to society and the state".

Zhirinovskiy aims to restore the Soviet empire and had earlier said Russia should restore its boundaries which existed in 1900 when it included Poland and Finland.

Chubays believes that in the current situation the democrats have to urgently unite to counterbalance the coalition of "fascists and communists" which is "a real and horrible threat for Russia".

Only a democratic parliamentary coalition will allow to pass laws on property and other documents necessary for reforms, according to him.

Chubays blamed the democratic forces for the success of Zhirinovskiy. "In the election campaign democrats acted very unsuccessfully, they failed to understand the real political situation in Russia correctly and targeted their efforts against parties and blocs which are close to them thus allowing a fascist threat", he said.

Burbulis Discusses Role of Federal Assembly

LD1212185093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648
GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] The president of the humanitarian center for political studies called Strategy, Gennadiy Burbulis, who is in charge of Russian Choice's election campaign, believes that a major task of the Federal Assembly is to draft amendments to the constitution and make preparations for presidential and parliamentary elections and a referendum on amendments to the new fundamental laws, to be conducted in two and a half years.

He said so in an interview with Interfax on Sunday at his electoral district in Moscow. Besides, Burbulis said, the Federal Assembly will have to promptly pass a number of bills, particularly a new Civil Code, to secure stability in the country. The new parliament, the leader of the Strategy Center stressed, will have to work out a new political culture and guidelines for determining the rights of parliamentary majority and minority.

According to Burbulis, stability that Russia needs so much depends on adopting a new constitution, on preserving the policy of economic reforms, on maintaining a stable government and on forming a civil society with many parties.

He deplored the fact that representatives of democratically-oriented election blocs did not succeed in gaining accord during their election campaign. "Many of those who were viewed as democrats only yesterday are no democrats," he explained.

As for his role in the parliament, Burbulis views himself as a spokesman for a constructively liberal faction based on the program of Russian Choice. In the future he will take an active part in forming a political party on the basis of Russian Choice.

Burbulis Sees Yeltsin Mistake

LD1312001893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2216
GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Russian President Yeltsin did wrong during the election campaign by assuming the stand of social and political referee, said a co-leader of the Russia's Choice bloc Gennadiy Burbulis answering questions by journalists on Sunday night at the Choice's headquarters.

He believes the president should have given up a clear support of the Choice in conditions when the country found itself in a risky situation that offers Communists, pro-fascists and nationalists to take a legal revenge through the elections. He believes there will not be in parliament the majority of democratically-minded and reformist deputies, while the Zhirinovskiy faction will determine the voting in parliament.

Burbulis believes that the support by many Russians to Zhirinovskiy means that the society is seriously ill. He said that because of this the transitional period of the totalitarian to a democratic state would be protracted and would

demand that we show high professionalism in a new parliament, while President Yeltsin should change his position drastically.

Burbulis believes the president's dangerous short-sightedness is his personal mistake, not of his entourage, and indicates that the president lacked an objective assessment of the real situation and overestimated the possibilities that shaped up in the country following the Oct. 3-4 developments.

Burbulis described the situation as an absolutely new scenario in our political situation. It will be needed to agree to compromises, he said. I hope, he said, we shall be able to re-group soon the Russia's Choice bloc into a professional liberal party and the president will assess the structure in time as his real support.

Poltoranin Predicts Confrontation

LD1312024893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0149 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Center who runs for the State Duma on Russia's Choice federal ticket, believes that it will be impossible to avoid political confrontation in a new Russian parliament. In an interview to Interfax in the early hours of December 13 in the State Kremlin Palace he at the same time spoke in favour of a constructive work of all factions in the Federal Assembly and the use of compromises. He said that there must not be artificial barriers between democratically-oriented parliamentary factions, on the one hand, and Communists and members of the Agrarian Party, on the other. He did not rule out contacts with Liberal Democrats led by Zhirinovsky. Poltoranin has said that Communists and Democrats will try to use the Zhirinovsky Party for their purposes. When Communists declare war they will call Zhirinovsky. When we want to do something good for Russia, we will also ask him to take our side, said Poltoranin.

He believes that the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms and the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc will be natural partners of Russia's Choice.

He believes that the new parliament will require the change of the government, though in line with the new Constitution the government resigns not before parliament but before the president. According to Poltoranin, the president would like to reshuffle the government.

Speaking about the future of the Federal Information Center, he said that he had submitted to the president the draft concept of how to organize work in the Center. If the president turns down the concept, I will work as a deputy, said Poltoranin.

Yavlinskiy Expresses 'Serious Concern' Over Results

LD1312104093 London BBC Television Network in English 0700 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Interview with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the Yabloko Bloc, in Moscow by Nicholas Witchell in London; from the "Breakfast News" program—live]

[Text] [Witchell] Mr. Yavlinskiy: Good morning to you. How big a threat to you think Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his nationalists pose to Russia's stability?

[Yavlinskiy] I would say that is a serious concern. And the influence of Mr. Zhirinovskiy while we have 30 percent inflation, and unemployment, and all other troubles we have just now during the reform, it is a serious threat.

[Witchell] Do you think President Yeltsin will be able to work with a parliament in which nationalists are so strongly represented?

[Yavlinskiy] I think that the new parliament in general would be big problem for Mr. Yeltsin, because he will have very different people in the parliament: the Communists, the Zhirinovskiy wing, and two reformists wings—Mr. Gaydar's bloc, and our bloc. It will be a difficult job for Mr. Yeltsin.

[Witchell] The results mean, surely, that economic reform will be speeded up. Now is that a good thing for Russia, do you think?

[Yavlinskiy] I think that we are able to make the economic reform faster—and what is even more important, more reasonable—in changes of institutional changes... [pauses] I mean institutional changes of irreversible type like demopolization, privatization, competition, land reform, and many other things which the government was not doing for a long time.

[Witchell] So in general terms is this a good result for Russia, this election?

[Yavlinskiy] Not so very good, because I have a very big concern that due to the fact that Mr. Zhirinovskiy and the Communists will have a big part in the parliament it will be very difficult to move forward. And I also want the (?power) which is now here to understand the lesson which they got from their so-called being supportive to Mr. Zhirinovskiy, especially during the election campaign. I want to explain to the power also here, and I think it's very important that democratic opposition is not so dangerous for them as the opposition of such type—that's the thing that they don't understand.

[Witchell] Mr. Yavlinskiy, thank you very much indeed for joining us.

Sees No Reason 'To Panic'

LD1312053193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0500 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have had a telephone conversation with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, who called "Vesti" to tell us that he does not see any reason to panic. Yavlinskiy called the preliminary voting results a lesson for the future, which once again demonstrates the need for all pro-democratic movements to work together. Yavlinskiy is convinced that today there is only one way to win—the immediate consolidation of all democratic parties and movements.

Lukin Doubts Cooperation Possible With LDPR

LD1312011793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0021
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] In an interview with Interfax, Vladimir Lukin, belonging to Grigory Yavlinsky's bloc, has doubted the possibility of contact with the Liberal Democrats [LDPR] in the Duma on any issue.

He did not say whether he would resign as Russia's Ambassador to U.S. since newly-elected lawmakers are barred from combining parliamentary duties with jobs. He promised to make his decision public "five minutes after official election returns are announced."

St. Petersburg's Sobchak Assesses Election Results

LD1312184693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1822
GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 13 TASS—"According to preliminary estimates, over 66 per cent of residents of St. Petersburg who took part in the voting supported the draft constitution," St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak said in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday.

"This is encouraging, although against the background of the success of Russian neo-Fascists and neo-Communists at the elections to the State Duma cannot but cause feelings of bitterness and regret," Sobchak said.

"One could predict a victory of (Aleksandr) Nevzorov (scandalous television sleuth known for his extreme nationalist views) because in his constituency representatives of democratic forces did not have enough common sense to withdraw (from the election race) in favour of those (candidates) who had better chances of success. But no one could predict such a success for Zhirinovskiy," Sobchak said.

He said there is only one hope left that the government and the president will draw lessons from the election campaign and will think about the part of the population, while carrying out reform in the future, which can give their votes for people like Zhirinovskiy at the next elections.

It is clear that in that case all democratic achievements, reforms and transformations will be buried in no time, the more so because Zhirinovskiy is not even hiding his intention to come to power through elections to shoot, repress and establish his own order, the mayor said.

He expressed regret that Russian people draw no lessons either from mistakes made by others or their own ones. Their credulity and political short-sightedness are surprising. But this is a fait accompli. Now much will depend on the organisation of work in the State Duma. If its work results in new confrontation and struggle, people's confidence in the parliament will be ruined once and for all, Sobchak warned.

At the same time he stressed that the country has two years (the parliament has been elected for two years) in order to

work hard and consistently rather than fight each other. Then those who are celebrating their victory now will have no chances of success in the 1996 elections, he said.

Zhirinovskiy Views Results, Party's Success

LD1312012893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0021
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leading Russia's Liberal-Democratic Party, told Interfax late Sunday [12 December] night that his party "by official returns, gained 70% of the votes. In other regions, he went on, support for his party ranged from 40 to 70% of the electorate. He added that, the Liberal Democrats "proved most popular in army units and on all fleets in the Far East."

As he claimed, coming second in popularity is the Communist Party. The election results, he added, "correspond to the will of the people, who want another political force, and it has received it - it's our party." He sees the reason of the Liberal Democrats success in the fact that he personally "has not been a communist, nor has my party supported Gaydar's government."

Anticipating a possible western reaction to his election success, Zhirinovskiy remarked: "I think the west will get on with it and calm down because all it needs is stable Russia, and our party Russia will be stable." He promised new reforms after his party's representatives take seats in parliament and pledged that transformations which "harm Russia" will be terminated, and so will be foreign aid, and the conversion of munitions production to civilian use.

He underlined that his party "would remove from the government with pleasure Chubays, Kozyrev, Gaydar, and Shakhrai." He described Viktor Chernomyrdin as a representative of "old nomenclature" and spoke in favour of a new cabinet. "A new government calls for a new strong chairman", Zhirinovskiy stressed. In his words, the Liberal Democrats are ready to nominate their candidate to the post, but such a candidate would be someone other than the party leader.

Outlines Plans

LD1312070893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0631 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec— The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, believes the number of votes received by the LDPR at the elections to the Federal Assembly to be normal.

In his opinion "society needs a third force which should not be linked either with the radical democrats or the communists who were not able to come to an agreement." In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent this morning, after just the preliminary results of voting were known, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said that as one of the first steps to be taken by his party faction in parliament he

intends "to halt aid leaving Russia, halt the conversion of the defense industry, and strike a decisive blow against crime."

The LDPR leader plans in parliament first and foremost to "stop arguments over where to house parliament so that it should be situated where the president has decided." Zhirinovskiy expressed the opinion that if the president upholds the validity of his decree on holding presidential elections on 12 June 1994, then from next January his party will begin to prepare for them. "However if the president repeals this decree, we will not insist on them," he said.

Regarding the future prime minister of the Russian government, according to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, "if the president insists on Viktor Chernomyrdin, then we will not object," he noted.

Zhirinovskiy reported that his party had spent about one billion rubles on the election campaign.

Denies Being Fascist

LD1312074993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0738 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Talalayev and Andrey Shtorkh]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia Vladimir Zhirinovskiy told an improvised press conference in the vestibule of the Radisson Slavjanskaja Hotel on Monday morning that his victory was complete. He set forth the programme of his party's parliamentary activity following the election.

"I am not a fascist," Zhirinovskiy stressed. "Just on the contrary, I have always made efforts in the struggle for human rights. Throughout my life I have not allowed myself a single extremist sortie. Some people even accuse me of being too soft toward communists, but I am confident that the solution of all political disputes should be entrusted to the voters. To their verdict".

Zhirinovskiy said he thought it necessary to amnesty all those who are now being held in the Lefortovo investigation ward in connection with the October 1993 rebellion along with the August 1991 coup plotters.

Asked what his first act in parliament would be, Zhirinovskiy said he intended to put an end to the dispute about the location of the future parliament and act in accordance with the president's decision before taking any other specific parliamentary steps.

In future Zhirinovskiy, whose party is one of the victors of the Sunday parliamentary elections according to preliminary data, spoke in detail about the main points of his programme he hopes to see implemented. He advocated "a policy for the Russians", meaning tough control over assistance Russia extends to any country beyond its boundaries, the establishment of "a tough customs boundary" with the Baltic and Caucasian republics, overall

protection of the Russian population, an end to the conversion of the defence industry to civilian production and an all-out struggle against crime.

In the field of foreign policy, Zhirinovskiy said priority would be given to the development of Russia's close ties with India, "the Arab states, including Iraq and Syria", and Germany. Russia needs very good relations with foreign countries but they must be built exclusively on a mutual beneficial and equal basis, he said. As concerns the problem of the Kuril Islands, the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia said it was easy to solve—the islands belong to Russia and the sea of Okhotsk must become Russia's inland sea.

Responding to a question from ITAR-TASS about political parties and coalitions he would like to see as his allies, Zhirinovskiy said "they must now look for an alliance with us themselves".

Zhirinovskiy said he would run for presidency in the presidential elections scheduled for June 12, 1994 and will "struggle until the very end". Along with this, he said that if the president's decree on the presidential elections is revoked, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia would not insist on holding them in June.

Zhirinovskiy said that the Liberal Democrats spent about one billion roubles to finance their electoral campaign.

Alleges 'Falsification' of Results

LD1312122293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our correspondent has just come back from a news conference Vladimir Zhirinovskiy gave this morning. That brings us back to the topic with which we started our bulletin.

[Correspondent Samoletov] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has this morning become the focus of attention of television agencies and even spoke live on the BBC. He said nothing new about his policy, however, except for a display of certainty and condescension backed up by the percentages of those who voted for his Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LPDR]. Asked how it happened that Russia's Choice was more popular in Siberia and the Urals and consequently polled more votes, despite Mr. Zhirinovskiy's assertions, the latter replied:

[Begin recording] [Zhirinovskiy] Everywhere Russia's Choice is said to be more popular than we are. It's sheer falsification!

[Unidentified correspondent] But these are computer figures from international agencies.

[Zhirinovskiy] It is falsification!

[Correspondent] In this morning's interview, the party's plans to nominate its leader for the post of president and for the rough composition of Zhirinovskiy's future government were unfolded.

[Zhirinovskiy] We have masses of people, enough to have 30-40 ministers, I reckon, all well educated, with all the necessary skills and all with experience in working in just this sphere, all of them with higher education and all able to speak a foreign language—99 percent of them Russians!

[Correspondent] How do you plan to organize relations with the president and with democratically oriented blocs after this?

[Zhirinovskiy] The president and I will sort all that out! [end recording]

[Announcer] Well, so everything turns out to be so easy, then!

More on Reasons for Success, Plans

LD1312132193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1143
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was not surprised by the electoral success of his Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] in the December 12 elections. He said that society was tired of discord.

He told journalists in Moscow in the early hours of Monday [13 December] that throughout the country his party had won about 60 percent of the votes, followed by Gennadiy Zyuganov's Communist Party and Russia's Choice trailing third.

Zhirinovskiy said that his party had spent nearly a billion rubles on the electoral campaign.

In his words, the LDP was against destroying the state sector "but we wholeheartedly support the private sector. We object to the disbandment of collective farms but we support farmers. We want a new foreign policy but not of the kind pursued by the current leadership. For this reason whatever the party says is in the interests of the majority and this naturally caused a positive response in the elections."

Asked what the LDP would start with in the new parliament, Zhirinovskiy said: "The first step will be to stop aid to any region, to keep everything in Russia... stop conversion of the defense industry to peaceful production... and to deal a most decisive blow to crime, using the troops of the Interior, Security and Defense Ministries so as to put an end to organized crime."

Responding to a question about possible allies in parliament, the LDP leader said: "I want them to seek an alliance with us."

On Russo-Japanese relations and the territorial dispute over the Kurils, Zhirinovskiy said: "We do not have territorial claims against anybody. If anyone has claims against us we are prepared to discuss them. I assure you that border posts will not be moved inside Russia. They can be moved towards the former borders of Russia."

In his words, there is no problems of the Kurils for his party. "These islands belong to Russia. And the Sea of Okhotsk will be Russia's internal sea. We'll set up a

200-mile zone and not a single foreign fishing boat will ever enter the Sea of Okhotsk and all marine products will reach the Russians' dining tables.

Zhirinovskiy said that he would certainly run for presidency, but added that he would not insist on early presidential elections to be held on June 12, 1994. "We are prepared to wait until the term expires. I will be 50 in 1996. I would like the party to help me in winning this birthday present, becoming Russia's president when I am 50."

He said that his party would insist on having its deputy chair the State Duma.

Wants 'Good Relations' With Yeltsin

LD1412100193 London ITV Television Network in
English 1900 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party, by Jon Snow, in Moscow on 13 December; from the "Channel 4 News"—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] I caught up with Mr. Zhirinovskiy this afternoon and I asked him what is he going to do now with his new power.

[Zhirinovskiy] So realize our program, it's our victory and I would like to see in future Russia is democratic, rich—a strong state, with good relations with West. It's a West country, it's not orient country, it's not Asiatic country, and without danger for third world war, only collaboration.

[Snow] But you've talked about wanting Finland, wanting Poland, wanting to expand.

[Zhirinovskiy] Never, never, never, never. If any state as Georgia, or Uzbekistan, would like to be included by their wishes, they would like, maybe one day, but we our party, we don't want.

[Snow] What about Jewish people, what about foreigners who live in Russia, should they be worried about you?

[Zhirinovskiy] Nothing, nothing anti-Semitism. Nothing—the Jewish people, Israel, good relation and no problem in this context.

[Snow] Do you wish now to become President Zhirinovskiy, is that your ambition?

[Zhirinovskiy] One day in future if we have presidential election I would like to participate, I hope to win.

[Snow] And what sort of relationship will you now have with Boris Yeltsin?

[Zhirinovskiy] I suggest good relations. I suggest he would like to be close relation with me and not with Gaydar or with communists. I feel this, I feel.

[Snow] And if he continues to work with Gaydar and with the communists?

[Zhirinovskiy] Maybe but more beautiful, our [words indistinct] government but we are ready to coalition with Gaydar. Not with communists, I would like with reformists but not radical reform against people.

Views Abolition of Republics

LD1412095393 Berlin ADN in German 2308 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Berlin/Hamburg (ADN)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the ultra right Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], is striving for absolute dictatorship, in the opinion of the BERLINER KURIER and the HAMBURGER MORGENPOST newspapers (Tuesday editions). In an interview for the newspapers the LDPR leader said: "I would only ban all the parties in the country, all strikes, and all trade unions for two to three years until peace and order prevails everywhere and national conflicts are resolved."

Zhirinovskiy includes abolition of the republics in his program. "My idea is quite simple: no national structures anymore, no republics or any kind of sovereign states. The whole of Russia will be divided into 100 provinces, only for administrative purposes, without any national features. The governors would only be subordinated to me—the president in Moscow," Zhirinovskiy said.

The party leader announced he will be running in the next presidential elections: "I don't care if they don't take place until 1996. My party and I can wait until the end of Yeltsin's term in office."

Stresses Readiness To Cooperate

BR1412123093 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 14 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Liberal Democratic Party of Russia leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow; date not given: "I Will Be the Next President"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On the day after the vote which has made him Russia's new idol, Zhirinovskiy is determined to present the image of a moderate leader, ready to cooperate with Boris Yeltsin and with the whole world, before becoming president. "I am not a fascist," he says, climbing the ruined stairs of the Sretenka Street palace in the heart of Moscow, where he has his headquarters. Entering his office he adds: "Indeed, I am the exact opposite of a fascist. I have always fought for human rights and have abhorred extremism."

[Cucurnia] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, many millions of Russians have voted for you. In the barracks and even among the soldiers of the Tamanskaya division, who defended Yeltsin against the coup leaders, your party has received a veritable plebiscite. How do you explain this?

[Zhirinovskiy] Look, I am not really surprised. If I had had another 10 days, if there had not been all those lies spread about to discredit my party, 70 percent of the Russians would have voted for me. In this case our country would indeed have had a strong parliament and government.

[Cucurnia] But during your election campaign, you relied solely on nationalism and easy promises. How will you keep them?

[Zhirinovskiy] No, things are not like that. The people wanted another political force and they got it—us. We are proposing a different medicine to cure the economy. We must stop it from foraging for other countries. We ought to stop the conversion of military factories and sell arms. In particular, we must eliminate delinquency and speculation very decisively. The power to do it is there. If I had charge of the power ministries, that is interior and defense, it would not be difficult. And everyone would benefit.

[Cucurnia] Hence, you are considering alliances with other political forces, maybe the communists, in order to enter the government?

[Zhirinovskiy] Let it be the other forces which seek an alliance with us. My party, certainly, would like to be a majority force. But we are ready to cooperate with everyone in order for the country finally to have a united leadership. United, I am saying, even if of different colors. There should be no more crises. God save us from new battles, from further bombardments of parliament. We want a civilized political life. If they propose that we enter the government, we are ready. If they do not, we shall not insist.

[Cucurnia] But if you could choose, which persons would you eliminate from the government?

[Zhirinovskiy] If I could choose, I would remove Foreign Minister Kozyrev, and the three deputy prime ministers, Gaydar, Chubays, and Shakhrai.

[Cucurnia] You have already said that you will be putting yourself forward in the next presidential elections.

[Zhirinovskiy] No doubt about it. I shall present myself when they are called. If President Yeltsin wants, this will be next year. And in that case we will begin getting ready as early as January. Otherwise we will wait until the mandate expires in 1996. At that time I will be just 50. The democrats do not have any candidates, apart from Boris Nikolayevich. The communists have no prospects. We are bound to be the ones who will reach the finish and try to win.

[Cucurnia] But does it seem easy to you to keep the promises that you have made?

[Zhirinovskiy] It is not difficult if you really want to, and if this is what you are working for. Let me give you an example: the Baltic states. We want an economy with world prices, don't we? Well, at Tallinn they are without electricity. We say: "You want oil, we will give it to you, but please pay for it. You do not have any money. Then let your friends, Sweden or Finland, give it to you, if they are ready and able. Why should Russia give it, seeing that you call us occupation forces and colonizers? Otherwise we want a free market, but without the private ownership of

land. Land can be given in usufruct, also for unlimited periods, and with the right to transfer it by inheritance, but without selling it.

[Cucurnia] It has been observed that the female electorate has a soft spot for you.

[Zhirinovskiy] And I for them. My favorite actress, by the way, is Italian, Stefania Sandrelli. Faced with a woman in love, I am able to spend almost all my energy. And for a dear friend, a large part of my time.

[Cucurnia] According to your analyses, which social groups have supported your party most?

[Zhirinovskiy] More or less all of them. But, in particular, young people, students. And then the older generation. My God, they are heroes. They saved the country from the Nazis. I want to offer them a real celebration for the 50th victory anniversary. So few of them are left, so why should the state not really make something of it?

LDPR Representative in Estonia Comments

WS1412122293 Tallinn BNS in English 1856 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 13, BNS—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is going to use "only economic sanctions" to protect the interests of the Russians living in Estonia, said Pyotr Rozhok, representative of Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party [of Russia, LDPR] and member of the Narva Union of Russian Citizens.

"If the violation of the rights continues, Zhirinovskiy will first warn the Estonian Government, and later sanctions will follow," he said. Rozhok said he was referring to his personal conversations with Zhirinovskiy.

Zhirinovskiy's party got almost half, or 47.66 percent, of the votes of Russian citizen residents in Estonia. Nearly 10,000 Russian citizens living in Estonia took part in the election Sunday [12 December].

Rozhok said Zhirinovskiy through his representatives had expressed thanks to his voters in Estonia and said that "protecting the interests of Russians living abroad remained one of the most important slogans of the party."

Zhirinovskiy "is the only man who can protect the Russians living abroad," Rozhok added.

Zhirinovskiy, Zyuganov on Plans To 'Help Each Other'

LD1212235993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 2200 GMT on 12 December goes over to their commentator in the Kremlin Palace, Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, who has already expressed his surprise to Presidential Press Spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov at the success of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, LDP, which has been in the lead in most electoral districts of eastern Russia, says Ruvinskiy. He quotes Kostikov as saying that it is normal that a large section of

society should support Zhirinovskiy, but that this does not mean the latter will oppose the current government or the president in the future parliament. Kostikov, says Ruvinskiy, expects Zhirinovskiy to play a positive role in the new parliament.

Ruvinskiy then plays back interviews given by Zhirinovskiy and Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which would suggest the opposite, according to Ruvinskiy.

Zhirinovskiy says: "We will help each other along, that is our position." Zyuganov agrees, and Zhirinovskiy continues, saying: "We will not allow mistakes or become diverted. We will act in the interests of the majority, the majority."

Zyuganov says: "I think the LDPR's [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] first move will be to restore the opposition press: communist, socialist and patriotic press."

Zhirinovskiy then says: "We are for full freedom of the press, full freedom, with no restrictions whatsoever, except the condition that more facts are given and less commentary because people are literate, they understand everything. Whenever something happens, the people understand everything: who did it and why. And the barrage of commentary causes confrontation and suppression."

A male voice asks Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy to shake each other's hand as a symbol of peace. "We have not been at war," Zyuganov says. This indicates an alliance between the two men, says commentator Ruvinskiy, who adds that it is unclear when it may have been formed—at an earlier period, or today.

Zyuganov Regrets Effect of 'Fascist Demagogy'

LD1312025193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1221 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] In an interview with Interfax, the Communist Party Leader Gennady Zyuganov has regretted that fascist demagogy "has had such a huge effect on people."

He expects left-wing pragmatics to prevail in the Federal Assembly. He believes that among the Liberal Democrats, "there is a number of moderate and reasonable politicians", with whom the communists can cooperate.

However, he stressed that his party disagrees with Zhirinovskiy that the Russian Empire should be recreated in the 1917 borders and that he is ready for "crusades to the south and north".

Alliance With Zhirinovskiy Under Study

LD1412133893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Sergey Suntsov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] At a meeting with journalists today, Russian Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov said the party will probably reach 11-12 percent of the vote in the 12

December elections, and the [communist] faction in the State Duma will 70-80 strong. In answer to a question from "Novosti," Zyuganov stressed that the results of the elections will give the left-centrist coalition a higher profile than in the last Russian Supreme Soviet. The Communist Party is ready for dialogue for all forces sharing its position, namely preservation of the territorial integrity of Russia, restoration of the fraternal union of peoples, and peace and prosperity.

Asked whether an alliance between communists with Zhirinovskiy's party is possible, Zyuganov replied that Zhirinovskiy's party list is being studied. However, the communists reject a campaign to the south or the east, which is contrary to the cause of peace, as, incidentally, is any return to the times before 1917.

It was announced at the news conference that in the very near future there will be a plenum and then a congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

Communist Representative Rejects Alliance

LD1312023993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0000 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Report by Ye. Pogorelova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Pogorelova] Despite the late hour, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party is working. Operational information from the regions is coming here, to the Bolshevik electoral headquarters. Communists are in quite an optimistic mood.

[G.Rebrov, member of the Communist Party Central Committee] The Russian Communist Party has gained support in all the regions of Russia.

[Pogorelova] The Bolsheviks enjoy special support, in his view, in Moscow and Moscow Oblast as well as Kursk and Bryansk Oblasts, Krasnodar Kray, and Stavropol Kray. After complaining a little about poverty and the difficulties of election campaign—they did not have money even to print programs and pictures of candidates—those keeping vigil at the headquarters said that they see possibilities of cooperation in the future parliament with the Agrarian Party and the Civic Union. A possible alliance with Zhirinovskiy was ruled out categorically. They described his program as empty project-making made to appeal to the despairing masses. At the same time, Rebrov, member of the Central Committee of the party, noted that these elections have brought communists and democrats closer together.

[Rebrov] All the democrats, including members of the Russia's Choice and the blocs of Yavlinskiy and Shakh-ray, vigorously used communist phraseology in their election campaigns.

[Pogorelova] A winter political masked ball rolls on.

Agrarian Party Leader Outlines Legislative Tasks *LD1312193093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Text] The preliminary results of Russia's parliamentary election as of 16:00 on Monday show that in 18 of the 88 constituent parts of the Russian Federation the Agrarian Party has received more than five percent of votes, the minimum necessary to obtain seats in the future parliament, said the party's leader.

Mikhail Lapshin told INTERFAX his party had won in 10 constituent parts of the Federation. He said he expected at least 10 percent of parliamentary seats to be won by the Agrarians, who "will try to bring the State Duma down to earth."

As their first and main task, the Agrarian deputies would draft land tenure legislation, based on Article 36 of the new constitution, which "has unfortunately been approved." The legislation would ban trade in land with the aim of "profiteering" and non-agricultural use of farm land, and would provide for granting land allotments free of charge both to peasants and urban residents (for subsidiary growing of fruit and vegetables in the latter case).

The new Russian legislature would have to "urgently suspend the explosive Clauses 2 and 8 of the Presidential Decree on the Regulation of Agrarian Relations and the Development of the Agrarian Reform in Russia" and finish work on the Fundamentals of the Legislation on Land "started by the former parliament," Lapshin said. The country would thereafter be governed "only by law, not by decree," he said.

In parliament, the Agrarian Party, "still in the making but having a great future," would try to "strengthen its independence" and would "form no blocs with anyone on a formal basis," although "in taking concrete decisions," it would join forces with those who supported it, Lapshin said.

Democratic Party Fears Zhirinovskiy May Become President

LD1412131093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1201 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Manvelov]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—The Democratic Party of Russia, headed by Nikolay Travkin, which succeeded to overcome the 5 per cent hurdle in parliamentary elections, fears that nationalist leader of the Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy may become the president at the next presidential polls and urged authorities to work and avoid it.

"This is the last warning for the Russian leadership", Evgeniy Malkin, a secretary of the party, told TASS on Tuesday commenting on election results. The success of the Liberal Democratic Party may allow its leader Zhirinovskiy to try in future and use the wide powers vested with the president by the new constitution, according to him.

"The people of Russia have to understand how dangerous the promises of such people are", he stressed.

Authorities should realise the acuteness of the situation and correct it before the next presidential elections, he urged.

International Reaction

Vice President Gore Comments on Election Results

LD1312171893 Moscow *ITAR-TASS* in English 1711 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Almaty December 13 TASS—U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore who is currently on a visit to Kazakhstan, stated that in his opinion Russian electors supported the new Constitution, and this was good news for President Boris Yeltsin and the United States.

At the same time the vice-president noted that the opposition acted during the election campaign better than was expected. Albert Gore stressed that the results of the referendum and the elections would not influence his preparations for the oncoming talks in Moscow.

According to the U.S. vice-president, the situation looks in such a way that Russia will conduct an experiment on a strong multiparty system. At the same time the preliminary results of the elections show that supporters of reforms and democracy will have a good working majority in the new parliament.

Albert Gore also noted that the successful elections would increase prospects of a success of the Russian democratic experiment.

Ambassador Pickering Comments

PM1412111793 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA* in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Ambassador's Opinion"]

[Text] Thomas Pickering, U.S. ambassador to Russia, described the situation arising in Russia in connection with Sunday's parliamentary elections and constitutional referendum as very interesting. "It would appear that the Constitution will be approved, but at the moment it is too early to talk about the results of the parliamentary elections," he said in an interview with CNN.

Expressing the opinion that the "rise of Zhirinovskiy's party" is connected with Russians' increased concern over the situation in the country, the U.S. diplomat added: "At the same time we observe that elections are taking place here at a proper international standard. At the moment it is too early to talk of anyone's victory. However, I want to comment that we have always hoped that the democratic movements would form a coalition. Therefore it is very desirable that such a coalition should be formed before the new parliament begins work."

The question of international relations was broached in the course of the interview. "Zhirinovskiy's grouping aside, it can be said that foreign policy issues were not at the center

of the election campaign," Pickering said on this subject. "The disagreements in the democrats' camp concerned the speed and, possibly, the scale of the reforms, but not the reforms themselves, and at any rate not those relations in foreign policy which concern important interests of the Russian state." [sentence as published]

Ukraine Deputy Foreign Minister Comments

LD1312153893 Moscow *INTERFAX* in English 1421 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] It is early yet to say whether or not Russia will change its foreign policy and relations with Ukraine after its Sunday [12 December] general election, Ukrainian Vice Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk told *INTERFAX* on Monday.

We must wait until final results are announced to see who forms a house majority in the new Russian parliament, he said.

Tarasyuk declined to comment on the early voting results, saying Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party was firmly in the lead. "The situation is delicate and I do want to comment on what is an expression of the will of the people of Russia. The nation elects a parliament and I do not want to divide those whom it chose into good or bad ones," he said.

Tarasyuk said Kiev had some fears over statements made by separate Russian officials with pro-democracy leanings during Russia's election campaign.

The Ukrainian official said Russia's experience would affect, though indirectly, the balance of forces in Ukraine which is heading for its own general election on March 27. He hopes the pro-democracy groups in Ukraine will manage to close their ranks by that time. It is this goal that the papers approved by the Rukh Movement on Sunday are aimed at, Tarasyuk said.

Official Views Cooperation

LD1312135293 Kiev *UNIAN* in Ukrainian 1220 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 13 Dec—In a comment on the election results in the Russian Federation, Anton Buteyko, head of the Ukrainian president's international affairs service stressed: "The fact that the constitution has been approved is a positive factor, since it will structure the power, and all power structures will be able to function within the defined framework. We welcome this. The fact that, according to preliminary reports, fascism is making its way into parliament is alarming. But we hope to be able to cooperate in a normal way in the new conditions. We are optimistic."

Ambassador Says Results Not 'Daunting'

LD1412104993 Kiev *UNIAN* in Ukrainian 2211 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Moscow, 13 Dec—Commenting on the preliminary election results in Russia, Ukraine's ambassador to that state Volodymyr Kryzhanivskyy said the balance of

forces is not that daunting. Zhirinovskiy won only 20 percent, not 40. The Liberal-Democratic leader's stand is unacceptable to the majority of Russia's intellectuals, the ambassador said, despite the fact that Zhirinovskiy's speeches struck a chord among the electors who voted for him. The democrats themselves are also to blame for the situation, acting one against another, instead of one for another.

However, the ambassador believes that Russia's election results must be taken calmly, since a constitution was adopted giving the president a great deal of latitude. [passage omitted]

Rukh Leader Comments

LD1412033393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2211 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Kiev, 13 Dec—Interviewed by a UNIAR correspondent, the chairman of the People's Movement of Ukraine [Rukh], Vyacheslav Chornovil, expressed the following opinion on preliminary results of the elections in Russia:

"Now one can be certain that a great many seats have been won by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (the party of Zhirinovskiy). Whatever the final numbers, Russia has taken a step towards a pro-fascist regime." [passage omitted]

"Western politicians made a mistake in viewing Ukraine through the prism of Russia, rather than as a self-sufficient entity which has to be supported in order to preserve stability at least along Russia's western frontiers.

"As for the influence of the election results on the situation in Ukraine, it will be both negative and positive, surprising as it may seem. Zhirinovskiy's victory will have a positive effect: It may frighten a little bit our orthodoxy and nomenklatura since Zhirinovskiy and his fascism is a threat to them too, while our reformist circles may consolidate. The negative side of it is that Russian communists have achieved considerable success, which will be a doping to our communists.

"Ukrainian policy is very closely connected to that of Russia and confrontation which will inevitably come about in Russia will be a destabilizing influence on the situation in Ukraine."

Rukh Official on Link to Nuclear Arms

LD1312115193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Les Tanyuk, member of the Ukrainian Peoples Movement [Rukh] central leadership, speaking today in an interview for the Novyny television and radio agency, said that to him it seems that the preliminary election results in Russia will unite Ukrainian democrats and dispel their illusions as to what will happen to Ukraine should its own Zhirinovskiy come to power.

What happened in Russia, Tanyuk said, is a result of not only a surge of Russian chauvinism, but also a manifestation of residual Communist upbringing. People trust Zhirinovskiy as they once trusted Hitler, Stalin, and Lenin, who were able to give extremely primitive and simple answers to complex questions.

I think, Les Tanyuk observed, that Europe will understand now why Ukraine does not wish to part with its nuclear arms, since it does not want to be an object of blackmail by Russia, which has a nuclear advantage.

Party Chief Sees No Confrontation

LD1312201693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] My opinion is that Russia's parliament will not allow confrontation between Ukraine and Russia. This was a statement made by Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Yevhen Marmazov, interviewed by journalists.

Commenting on the preliminary results of the elections in Russia and how they might affect Ukrainian-Russian relations, Yevhen Marmazov expressed the hope that relations between the two states will be businesslike and friendly. Besides, the secretary said, Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party is not the whole parliament but only part of it. Apart from that, there are communists in Russia's parliament, who will not take the radical steps called for by Zhirinovskiy. Yevhen Marmazov pointed out.

Belarus Official Hopes for 'Common Language'

LD1312194893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] "We cannot but take into account the choice, made by the people of Russia. Zhirinovskiy appears to have emerged the winner in a fair contest and thereby confirmed that he is a major factor in Russian politics," an adviser to the speaker of the Belarusian parliament Valeriy Tsepalo said about the early returns from Russia's elections.

Tsepalo said he hoped that "Russia's leading politicians will be able to find a common language by means of mutual respect and compromise in defiance of all the differences separating them".

Shushkevich's adviser believes that a coalition government including Zhirinovskiy, Zyuganov, Gaydar and other political leaders, would be one of the most likely ways out.

"If that does not happen, Zhirinovskiy will have very good chances of winning the next presidential election," Tsepalo said. In his opinion the Liberal Democratic Party leader will then try to implement his plans for the territorial unification of the Russian Empire.

Tsepalo is concerned about the uncertainty, which way Zhirinovskiy will choose to achieve that: the way of Prince Ivan Kalita ("Moneybags"), who in his day employed

diplomatic and economic means to put the Moscow Principedom together, or the way of Bismark, a way of iron and blood."

Tsepkalo admitted that "neither Belarus, nor Ukraine, nor the Baltic states will be able to stop Russia's economic expansion, if that proves its official policy."

Moldova's Snegur on New Parliament

LD1312213493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2011
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] A parliament with a Liberal Democratic majority is bound to affect Russia's attitude to other CIS countries, said Moldovan President Mircea Snegur.

Talking to reporters on his arrival at Kiev's Borispol Airport, Snegur said Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, in his election campaign speeches "had no other definition for the Republic of Moldova than that of a province of a greater Russia, which already has its governor general, the present commander of the Russian 14th Army (stationed at Tiraspol)."

Snegur's spokesman Dumitru Tira told INTERFAX the president regarded the results of Russia's election as "an internal affair of that country, especially because by now only partial and preliminary results have been published."

Chisinau Expresses 'Concern'

LD1312141693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1356
GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau December 13 TASS—"The main result of the Sunday [12 December] elections is the following: Russia received a new constitution which, as we hope, will be a guarantor of stability and prosperity," one of the leaders of the so-called Dniester republic Aleksandr Karaman said here on Monday.

He refused to comment on the preliminary results of the elections, saying that "this is an internal affair of Russians".

On the contrary, Chisinau expressed concern at these figures. Moldovan Deputy Parliament Speaker Viktor Pushkash told ITAR-TASS on Monday that "we, as well as other countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, cannot accept the position expressed by leader of the Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy during the election campaign.

"He proclaimed that independent Moldova is nothing but Russia's Bessarabskaya Province. If this party wins majority in the Duma (lower chamber of the Russian parliament), this can lead to difficulties in relations between Russia and the former Soviet republics."

Parliament Official Comments

LD1312195193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] "The success of the Liberal Democratic Party at the elections in Russia must alarm the world public," Deputy Chairman of the Moldovan Parliament Viktor Puscasu told an Interfax correspondent. In his opinion, the pre-election statements made by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy may provoke "dangerous consequences."

According to Puscasu, the Russian Liberal Democratic Party's policies "may lead to significant complications in relations between Russia and the new sovereign states, the independence of which has not been recognized by Zhirinovskiy and his supporters." However, the deputy speaker hopes that "the worst forecasts concerning the new composition of the Russian parliament will not come true."

Armenian President on Results of Election

NC1312205593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1515 GMT
13 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 13 (SNARK)—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan refrains from estimations relating the results of the elections in Russia. "I don't know yet the final results of the elections," said the president to SNARK's reporter.

In any case, said the president, it is useful to Armenia that democrat and reformist forces come to the power in Russia.

Georgia's Shevardnadze Congratulates Yeltsin

LD1312134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1323
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Report by GIA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi, 13 December. TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze in his radio address today has congratulated President Boris Yeltsin and the Russian people with adopting a new constitution.

Shevardnadze described the act as "passing a very important landmark." As for the results of elections, "nothing unexpected has happened," Shevardnadze said, adding that it would be a lesson to all.

"In Georgia, the most destructive force—provincial fascism, has suffered a defeat. But it is possible that other forces whose efforts were to no avail, will attempt to appear in the arena. One cannot forget about this and therefore, I decided to establish the Union of Georgian Citizens. This is a constructive and a democratic union and it should offer resistance to those forces which are reluctant to cooperate for the sake of the country's salvation, preferring to pursue machiavellian policies," Shevardnadze said.

Interviewed on Elections

LD1312163393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0920 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by Nato Oniani on 13 December; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Eduard, probably we should start our conversation with yesterday's events in Russia. Yesterday was one of the most important days in Russia's modern history. We will know the results of the elections in 10 days. According to the preliminary data, we know that the constitution has in effect been adopted by the majority. Democrats lead in some of the electoral districts, but to everybody's surprise, Zhirinovskiy and his Liberal Democratic Party lead with quite a big priority. What chances does a politician like Zhirinovskiy have in the Russian politics and if one has to reckon with the prospect of Zhirinovskiy, and how well is today's world, the United States and the west, ready for talks and cooperation with such a Russia?

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. Greetings. Of course, yesterday was very important for Russia, and not only for Russia. It was important for us also. I am sure that wherever electricity was available for our population, people perhaps could not get away from their television screens until dawn.

I am not going to give a detailed analysis of what has happened. I think that in this case, the first word must be said by the Russian authorities and the president, but still, to put it in a few words, I think that nothing unexpected has happened. If we analyze the pre-election campaign, especially following the events of 3-4 October, I think that the results are quite natural.

If we are talking about the positive results, what is the key positive result of historic importance for Russia which will also be of importance for other countries? It is adopting the constitution. As is clear from the preliminary data, the constitution can be considered adopted. It is, undoubtedly a big event, a big victory for Russian democracy, and it cannot be overshadowed by the results of the polling and the distribution of seats in the legislative bodies. In this connection, I would like to congratulate President Yeltsin and the friendly Russian people on stepping over this big threshold—I mean adopting the constitution.

As for the rest, that is, the elections and who got how many seats, who had what results in the electoral campaign, I will not go into detail and just say in a few words: What is this event? It is a lesson. It is a lesson for everybody, a lesson, a lesson for everybody and a lesson for us, also. One of the most awful, the most destructive forces, which I called provincial fascism and the black force, has been defeated, defeated in effect. The work must be brought to an end, but others may emerge on the arena, other poor unions, and when we are talking of lessons, we must bear this in mind. When I told you that nothing unexpected has happened—and nothing unexpected has happened personally for me—I meant that together with my colleagues and those who are at one with me, I have made a decision to create a strong

political force in Georgia. I mean the Citizens' Union. This force will be constructive and positive in itself, but it must also, at the same time oppose, and it will oppose those forces which do not want to cooperate in the battle for saving the country, cooperate with everybody, those which will follow the path of adventurism just like our provincial fascism and its leaders did. In the meantime, this force, Citizens' Union of Georgia, on which I pin high hopes—and I call on those who have certain interests not to be late—to define their stance. This force, the Citizens' Union of Georgia, will cooperate with everyone who is fighting for democracy in Georgia and for saving the country. This is my comment, the main comment is that yesterday's event is a lesson for everyone.

[Oniani] Thank you. Eduard, probably one of last week's most interesting events was your meeting with the administrators of rayons, heads of departments and the law enforcement bodies.

It was interesting first of all from the point of view that now, the second month of the emergency situation, efforts are being made to improve the country's criminal situation; it was interesting against the background of the first signs of stabilization, I mean the issue of bread; although bread is sold to the population in small quantities, it is delivered in a much more normal way, so to say, and the terrible lines have become thinner.

I would like to remind you of one old story. When Stalin was told that the criminal situation had become tense in one of the rayons, he said, shoot the raykom secretary. Of course, Stalinist methods are unacceptable today, and I have remembered it jokingly, but people are irritated by the promises of officials, as when something does not get done in one sphere or another, officials practically do not answer for it. No one answers for anything any more.

[Shevardnadze] Stalin's order concerned not only one rayon as there were larger geographical scales then and [word indistinct]. You rightly reminded me of that story because people may demand those atrocious and unjustifiable measures if order is not established.

As for the yesterday's and the day's before meetings in Tbilisi, I would like to stress once again the fact that the issues of order and the improvement of today's situation are the key to resolving all problems. I am not saying that Georgia will flourish rightaway today, but you said that rationing bread in Tbilisi, and other towns—in Kutaisi and Rustavi—was already a positive event. Bread rationing was introduced in different rayons. I was told by many administrators that they had introduced bread rationing two months before. It would have been impossible in Tbilisi if elementary order had not been established. You know that there were instances of raiding bread factories, thefts of bread trucks, and many other [word indistinct].

As a result of the Defense Ministry's measures to guard bread factories, the situation has improved and it has given us a possibility for a relatively fair bread distribution so that people get at least their minimum share, which is

necessary for existence today. I am not saying that it is an ideal form, and we are aware that 300 grams of bread is very little, and giving additional flour supplies to make the total of 400 grams, will not compensate for it. It is the minimum, a very little, but it is better to get bread in this way than having to face how it was earlier—lawlessness, interminable lines at bread shops and a number of difficulties connected with it. Therefore, just this one example shows that a better situation can be created in the socioeconomic spheres as well as in all other directions, provided law and order are restored in the country.

In this connection, the police should work in accordance with the demands of the emergency situation as well as the Procurator's Office and the security system. Besides, the whole country must unite, all Georgian society must act so that words do not remain just bare words. Declaring the second stage of the emergency situation does not mean anything in itself. If it is not reinforced by work then the promise will not be fulfilled.

I am sure that our country has every possibility today to establish order, and it will be established if all society sets an aim for doing so, and if you like, declares a national day for establishing order, a day for the battle for saving the country; the whole of society, every family and every citizen, we must all rise to our feet. I have already told you that we took up the issue of bread rationing, and it is more or less going well. We must start a fight for the roads. If order is restored on the roads and highways then Georgia's national income, its budget, will be seriously reinforced.

[Oniani] Excuse me for interrupting you. When you talked about the roads you said that unless order was established on the roads it would be meaningless to speak about business in Georgia. Here is just one example. A bus travelling from Batumi to Tbilisi was stopped [word indistinct] by bandits who demanded 300,000 Russian rubles. The passengers did not have it, so the bus was turned back. It means that peasants who have a surplus of produce are afraid of being held up on the road. This results in the absurd and vicious prices in Tbilisi food markets.

[Shevardnadze] Yesterday I was told by some governors that you are right. The governor of Dedoplistskaro rayon demanded that a train service be started, mainly for people who want to bring and sell produce in Tbilisi, in other industrial centers, (?Rustavi) and so on. It was also said yesterday that if there was a train service, people who live in Azerbaijan's rayons bordering Georgia would also like to sell their ample produce in Tbilisi markets. It was also mentioned yesterday that a large amount of potatoes is to be brought in from Ninotsminda and Akhalkalaki. There are also meat and dairy products of rather good quality. People want to trade in Tbilisi, but the roads are practically impassable.

If what you were told was the only incident of its kind, our situation would not have been so hard, but in practice, the robbing of buses, cars and trucks on the roads has become some kind of barbaric law. Trains are also robbed. This is why I believe that it is a matter of principle that order should be established on the Georgian roads without any

preconditions, even if it means that I and the prime minister have to stand in the roads helping the police on duty. If we want to save the country, order on the roads must be established. I said at yesterday's meeting that there should be no one there except the police. The police are not angels either.

Estonia's Laar Comments on Elections, NATO

LD1312174793 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1400 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Estonia regards the election result in Russia as alarming. In an interview for Yleisradio, Estonian Premier Mart Laar compares the situation in Russia with Germany in the 1930's. Laar is appealing to the West to intensify cooperation with the Baltic countries both in the economy and in security policy. Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen reports:

[Maeaettaenen] In an interview granted to Yleisradio, Estonian Premier Mart Laar stresses that the West must now on no account remain a passive onlooker. In Laar's opinion, the events of Germany in the 1930's may be repeated in Russia, where he already sees similarities. If the West, after everything, learns the lesson and understands what hour the clock has struck, nothing tragic will happen.

The western countries must now further intensify economic and security policy cooperation. In the Baltic countries this means that Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia must seek entry into the NATO defense alliance as well as the European Union more eagerly and aggressively than before, according to Premier Mart Laar. He sees a partnership treaty with NATO, a Partnership for Peace treaty, as one solution. Estonia will receive NATO's offer and it will be agreed in closer detail at the beginning of next year.

The Estonian premier thinks that guaranteeing the security of Ukraine is also of vital importance. At the same time, support must be given to the democratic forces in Russia which were not as successful in the elections as expected, Mart Laar stresses.

In his interview, Laar compared the election result in Russia with the election results in Lithuania and Poland. In Russia, the communists made a huge comeback. The Agrarian Party too rose to parliament; its chairman, by the way, is the deputy chairman of the Communist Party. This happens when a country lacks a balancing left-wing party, the social democrats, Premier Mart said about the election results in Russia. This is Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen in Tallinn.

Seeks NATO Security Guarantees

LD1312155493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1300 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Estonian Premier Mart Laar finds that after the victory of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's (?neo-Nazi) party at the Russian elections, EC and NATO must take swift steps so as to integrate the Baltic countries into those structures. Europe must act constructively, and this means a much

quicker integration into the EC as well as security guarantees from NATO. This is what Laar said in an interview given to the Associated Press.

NATO security guarantees is the only response Zhirinovskiy understands, said Mart Laar. He drew parallels between pre-Hitler Germany and present-day Russia referring to similarities between both slogans and ideas. Answering the question whether Zhirinovskiy is mad, Laar asked whether Hitler was mad.

Laar is also concerned about the fact that some views of President Yeltsin's coincide with those of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's.

Foreign Ministry Official Remarks

LD1312143693 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] It is hoped that Zhirinovskiy will not be included in the Russian Government and thus be able to influence Russian policies, including foreign policy. Toivo Klaar, head of the Estonian Foreign Ministry's policy department has stated this to ETA. He said that if one looks back 60 years, communists and national socialists also gained a substantial percentage of votes in Germany, and of course a terrifying parallel comes to mind. According to Klaar the Russian extremist parties' gains are smaller than they were in Germany at the time. Also, everyone will remember history.

We hope the course of economic reforms will continue in Russia, Klaar said. He added that the Estonian Foreign Ministry has invited Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin to visit Estonia at the end of December. According to Klaar the current week would have suited the Russian deputy foreign minister but because the individuals likely to be receiving him are away his visit is not taking place at this time.

Expresses 'Anxiety' Over Vote

WS1412122093 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1733 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Text] Tallinn, 13 December—High Estonian Foreign Ministry official expressed anxiety over success ultra-nationalists have achieved at parliamentary elections in Russia saying that, hopefully, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy would not be included in the government and, consequently, get a chance to influence Russia's politics, including foreign policy.

"Looking 60 years back into history we can see that communists and national socialists also won a major per cent of votes and, naturally, it creates a terrifying parallel," Toivo Klaar, head of the Ministry's political department, told ETA while adding that although official results were not available it was obvious Russian extremists had not scored as big a victory as German nationalists before WW II.

Klaar also added that, hopefully, Russia would proceed with economic reforms. He also said that the Estonian

Foreign Ministry has invited Russia's deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin for a visit to Estonia at the end of December.

Vello Saatpalu, the head of Estonian parliament's foreign relations commission, who attended the elections in Moscow as foreign observer, said Zhirinovskiy's success had not been a surprise to him as there had been no equal to him during the election campaign.

"After numerous political talks in Moscow, however, I cannot see a political force which would be ready to support him," Saatpalu said.

The presidents of the three Baltic countries, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which Zhirinovskiy has repeatedly challenged while viewing their territories as part of Russia are scheduled to meet in Estonia's capital Tallinn on Wednesday [15 December] at an opening conference of the Baltic Institute of Strategic and International Studies, the Estonian President's press office said. Estonia's Lennart Meri, Latvia's Guntis Ulmanis and Lithuania's Algirdas Brazauskas are expected to discuss the situation in Russia.

The main topics on the conference agenda are political and economic conditions for Baltic security and consolidation of Estonia's, Latvia's and Lithuania's independence.

Estonia's Defence Minister Juri Luik, head of NATO's information and press office, Erika Bruce, head of the Estonian army, Aleksander Einseln, EC representative in Stockholm Hans-Jorg Hansen, Swedish Premier's adviser Lars Fredren, vice admiral of Russia's Baltic navy, Viktor Kravtchenko, director of Norway's Defence Ministry, Chris Prebensen, are among speakers at the conference.

Latvian President Judges Results of Elections

WS1412121793 Tallinn BNS in English 1856 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, 13 Dec, BNS—Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis described the tentative results of the Russian presidential election as not very surprising against the background of the political weakness of President Boris Yeltsin in the last six months.

Vladimir Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic Party won the election with 20 percent of votes, according to unofficial data.

"I think, the results could have been more favorable for democracy, but we must put up with what's happened and work in accordance with the Russian conditions," Ulmanis said.

"Zhirinovskiy's victory is linked to the weakness of President Boris Yeltsin's politics in the last six months," Ulmanis said.

"The situation when the government does not pay the due attention to people's welfare creates favorable circumstances for the upsurge of chauvinistic and fascist forces," Ulmanis said.

In Ulmanis' words, it would be naive to hope that the roots of communism could be completely weeded out in few years.

Ulmanis confirmed his wish to meet with President Boris Yeltsin, but he would also like to meet with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

The Latvian president said he would tour Moscow immediately after "the Skrunda problem gets a bit clearer," probably, in January.

Not Surprised by Results

LD1412112893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
2100 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] In an interview with reporters, Latvia's State President Guntis Ulmanis gave his assessment of the still provisional election results in Russia.

I consider that the results could, of course, be more favorable for democracy. However, it is necessary to face what has happened and to work in the conditions which have evolved in Russia at the moment.

The conditional election success of the Liberal Democratic Party, headed by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, did not particularly surprise Ulmanis. Ulmanis said that Zhirinovskiy's victory was related to the weakness of the policy implemented by Russian President Boris Yeltsin over the past six months. When not enough attention is paid to the welfare of people, a fertile soil is created for chauvinistic and fascist forces.

According to Ulmanis, it would be naive to think that it is possible completely to weed out the roots of communism in a few years.

The president also said that his plans to meet Boris Yeltsin have not changed in the least. As soon as the Skrunda [radar] issue is more or less clarified, Ulmanis will go to Moscow to meet both Yeltsin and Zhirinovskiy. Such a visit may take place in the new year.

Other Latvians React

LD1412101293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0958
GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Riga, 14 December, TASS—Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis described the victory scored by the Liberal-Democratic Party in Russia as something "to a certain extent conditional." He noted during his Monday evening tv interview that "a fertile soil for chauvinistic forces appears every time there is a shortage of the sense of reality and of practical concern for the people's welfare."

Ulmanis said that "we have to be wiser in respect to representatives of other peoples in our country in order to avoid undesirable opposition both in Latvia and abroad."

The president said that his plans to visit Russia remained absolutely unaffected. He may visit Russia already after the

New Year holidays where he will "have talks, if necessary, both with Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Zhirinovskiy."

Chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission Kirsteins said in the course of the same tv programme that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy could be the most probable candidate during the future Russian presidential elections. Kirsteins said that this should be taken into account in shaping Latvia's relations with Russia in the coming two years.

Vice-Premier Egils Levits foresees difficulties in Latvia's foreign policy. He believes that the "aggressive campaign against Latvia and Estonia will grow and the two countries will have to uphold their positions more vigorously in international organisations. It will be more difficult to reach an agreement on the withdrawal of Russian troops and on the problem of the citizenship" of Russian-speakers in Latvia and Estonia.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Sends Message to Yeltsin

LD1312213793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas sent a message of greeting to President Boris Yeltsin and the Russian people on Monday on the adoption of a new Constitution of the Russian Federation. Speaking on Lithuanian national radio, President Brazauskas voiced the conviction that Russia would not abandon the road of promoting democracy and a market economy. He pointed out that the preliminary results of the election in Russia witnessed the strengthening of the radical forces in that country. Therefore, utmost attention must be given to (?the two processes) in Russia.

There are 3,500 Russian citizens permanently residing in Lithuania who took part in the Russian parliamentary elections. A press representative of the Russian Embassy in Vilnius said, however, that he could not provide information about the distribution of votes because that was prohibited by the Central Election Commission.

The most significant result of the Sunday election in Russia is that the new Constitution of the country was adopted; that was declared by Lithuanian parliament chairman Ceslovas Juršenas at a news conference on Monday. He refused to comment on the results of the elections to the Federal Assembly and the state Duma. We cannot yet claim, Juršenas said, that the balance of forces will be favorable for extremists and neocommunists, but the coming of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's party to parliament will not give joy to either to Russia or to the world.

According to Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the right-wing opposition in the Lithuanian seimas, the election in Russia strengthened the position of extremist political forces. He defined the results of the election as worsening Lithuania's security and stated that the stand taken by the present Lithuanian authorities with regard to Russia lacked backbone.

Legislative Officials Comment

WS1412120793 Tallinn BNS in English 1617 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, 13 Dec, BNS—The approval of the new Russian Constitution is the most significant result of the Dec. 12 voting in Russia, said Lithuanian Parliament Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas. If indeed the draft has been approved, "a branch of state power with a wide authority has become clear, and this is the foundation of Russia's stability and its forecasted policy," the parliament's speaker noted at a press conference Monday [13 December].

"If the constitution has been approved," he said, "we know the president, his policy with all its pros and cons, and our own prospects are more distinct."

Kazys Bobelis, chairman of the parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, said nothing special has happened in Russia. He noted, however, that election results will help Lithuanian politicians decide on Lithuania's integration into the West.

At a press conference Monday, the lawmaker expressed his opposition to hasty political statements until the final results and Russian President Boris Yeltsin's attitude are known. Preliminary reports suggest that the ultranationalist Liberal Democrats finished ahead in the voting with a low voter turnout at the polls.

Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the parliament's rightist opposition, urged all political forces to make a joint statement. The results in Russia are caused not only by its internal situation, its communist past and populist propaganda, but also because the West shut its eyes to Russian expansionism, he said.

"If the West recognized a democratic empire, it may expect democratic fascism, as well," he said.

The opposition leader noted that the results don't bode well for Russia's future relations with Russia. This means a major threat to Lithuania, he said, and calls for the country's integration into western security structures.

Politicians View Election Results

WS1412125193 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 2115 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 393]

[Text] Vilnius, 13 Dec, ELTA—The most significant result of the Russian elections is that new state Constitution has been approved, Seimas [parliament] Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas told a news conference. It gives strong power to the President and while Boris Yeltsin is in the post, developments in Russia may be more or less forecast, he said.

But Jursenas declined to comment the results of elections to the Federal Rally of the State Duma until they are not officially announced. We cannot assert the balance of forces will turn in favour of extremist and neo-communist parties. But Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his party "will not bring much joy neither to Russia nor to the world," Jursenas said.

Seimas opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis estimated the outcome of the elections as strengthening of extremist forces and speedy pacing to the power. He said the process was induced not only by the communist heritage but also by concessions made by the West concerning Russian expansionism. "If the West recognized democratic imperialism, they may face democratic fascism soon," Landsbergis noted.

The results are increasing danger to the security of Lithuania, he said. But position of the present Lithuanian leadership towards Russian policy is "weak and without backbone," he added.

UN Adopts Resolution on Human Rights in Estonia, Latvia

*LD0912222093 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
2100 GMT 9 Dec 93*

[Text] The 48th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has unanimously adopted a resolution on the human rights situation in Estonia and Latvia. According to the resolution adopted, the UN secretary general must inform the member states about the human rights situation in Latvia and Estonia. The resolution also provides for returning to this issue at one of the future UN sessions.

As the announcement states, the resolution adopted was a compromise version, which was agreed upon after lengthy and sharp discussions by the representatives of Latvia and Estonia, with representatives of Russia. Active involvement in seeking a compromise also came from the Lithuanian delegation.

The Russian representative, in his speech, noted that the resolution adopted is a very hard compromise for Russia. The press statement from the Latvian mission, on the other hand, assessed the resolution as a considerable step forward, so that the United Nations, in general, will conclude the debate on the so-called human rights question in Estonia and Latvia. In the initial version, the resolution called on all of the countries and parties involved to work constructively so that the recommendations of the United Nations and other international fact-finding missions would be observed and their conclusions respected, as well as obliging the UN secretary general to report to the next session—the 49th—as a separate item on the agenda, about progress in this sphere.

The initial version would automatically have included the issue of human rights in Estonia and Latvia on the agenda of the next session. But now, if Russia wishes to do so, this

question must be raised anew, using all the procedures laid down for including an issue on the agenda of the UN General Assembly.

Lavrov Assesses Black Sea Group Meeting

*LD0912221293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2052
GMT 9 Dec 93*

[Report by Vladimir Abrosimov, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Sofia, 9 December, TASS—Foreign ministers of the 11-member Black Sea Economic Cooperation Group ended their third meeting here on Thursday [9 December] with passing decisions vital for the future interaction between the group's member-countries. They defined functions and key directions of activities of the organization's international secretariat with the headquarters in Istanbul. Russian diplomat Yevgeniy Kutovoy was endorsed executive director of the secretariat. Participants in the meeting also decided on the location of the Black Sea Bank for Trade and Development, which is to be situated in the Greek city of Salonika.

Addressing a concluding news conference, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov, who chaired the meeting, said that these decisions are essential for the future activity within the framework of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Group. The minister also reported that observer status had been granted to Egypt, Israel, and Slovakia.

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, who led the Russian delegation to the meeting, assessed the results of the dialogue in Sofia as positive on the whole. The meeting managed to solve the principal problems on the agenda, he stressed in an interview with TASS.

The next meeting is scheduled to take place in the Georgian capital Tbilisi next June.

Russia's Shokhin on Integrating Money Systems*МК0912114093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 93 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin by Vitaliy Portnikov in the "CIS" column; place and date not given: "Aleksandr Shokhin: There Has Been No Economic War. Russia Could Become an International Monetary Fund for the Former Soviet Republics"]

[Text] [Portnikov] I would like to address you as one of the government leaders of a country that has won "the economic war" in the CIS. It was hardly ever declared by anybody and it was hardly desirable to anyone, but nonetheless Russia appears to be a winner in it....

[Shokhin] There has been no economic war. Not only because no one has declared it, but also because no one was ever going to wage it. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has, of course, brought about a number of dramatic consequences for the economy of many states, although initially it seemed that political sovereignty would not have clear-cut, negative economic implications. But the discrepancy in economic legislation and the conduct of economic policy in various directions resulted in a situation where links began to be ruined. And by the middle of the current year we already had a full bunch of problems in our interrelations with the CIS countries. One of the main problems was an imbalance in trade between Russia and the other states, with rare exceptions. For the most part all of the CIS states take more out of Russia than bring in. This is a fact and one can only blame history for it. Russia is a donor with respect to these countries and it gets nothing in return—no concessions in other spheres, no understanding in the economic, political, or humanitarian aspects. This may sound blunt, but up to now we have in no way linked the mere fact of our giving with the resolution of some other tasks. True, as of this year we tried to discuss the problems of converting debt into equity and we also tried to address military-political questions (primarily this refers to Ukraine, its nuclear weapons and the Black Sea Fleet; and Kazakhstan, to the status of Baykonur). Yet there has been no conclusive settlement. Another problem is that many of these states have nothing to pay with. Ukraine and Belarus are classic examples. Even if they wish to pay, they simply cannot do it. Moreover, our own structures are not fast enough in finding goods that could be imported. We are now trying to use "triangular" schemes with the participation of international commercial firms which themselves pay us in hard currency for oil, find goods in Ukraine and sell them to third countries.

A classic pattern of failure lies in gas supplies. Gas is being supplied practically free. It is impossible to close the pipeline in winter and no one is going to do that. But Ukraine is exceeding its quota and Gazprom has to pay fines to the end user. This is why in this situation—you describe it as being close to an economic war—there are no winners. How is Gazprom to get back its money—a trillion from Ukraine, and a trillion from Belarus? The strike in

Nadym has shown quite eloquently that this is not just the wish of Russian gas workers to get money from the unfortunate Ukraine. A knife has already been raised over our gold-laying goose. And a catastrophe may occur in the very near future. This is why it is vital for us to regulate payment and settlement relations between the CIS countries within the framework of a payment union to be created on a stage by stage basis.

The centrifugal process must be counteracted. In particular, this refers to the states that are linked with Russia by close technological contacts.

Even now we are witnessing a situation where other investors are being invited to develop deposits into which during the Soviet period we invested millions and billions of dollars.

[Portnikov] Do you not think that this is happening because the leaders of the former Soviet republics are afraid of political demands and therefore are looking for partners "on the side?"

[Shokhin] Russia will not demand political concessions from anyone. But when Western states provide a credit, none of our colleagues in the CIS has any doubts about the need to pay for it. And if there is nothing to pay with, then perhaps something should be mortgaged. With respect to Russia, such doubts are fairly frequent. Of course, many states would like to borrow from various countries in order to have room for maneuver. But Russia has no imperial ambitions. In conducting talks on the ruble zone we put forward a number of tough criteria, but they are such that are accepted in international practice. Yes, by introducing a national currency in Russia we have created a number of problems for our partners. Frankly speaking, we violated a number of obligations under agreements with these countries and did not formulate clearly enough how we are to work with the CIS countries. There were confusing approaches employed by our various departments, and our partners were choosing the most convenient one for themselves. When our single approach was formulated, we deemed it fairly acceptable. And we did not dramatize the situation, believing that the launching of national currencies in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan may be a stage in the integration of monetary systems. Now the situation is really dramatic: There is a lag in addressing settlement issues. In the eyes of our colleagues this is becoming reminiscent of an element of an economic war: They have been pushed out of the ruble zone and despite the promises to start building a payment union, this matter has been ignored.

[Portnikov] But is real collaboration possible then, given that the approaches to economics and to reforms are sometimes diametrically opposed?

[Shokhin] When we were formulating the criteria for integrating the monetary systems, we raised the question of leveling the pace of movement toward the market. The countries that were slow to start were to take a number of

measures to ensure compatibility of the economies. Russian structures would be turning into a kind of International Monetary Fund for these states. After all, our demands are the same as the IMF's in granting credits to Russia. I cannot say that the IMF immediately took to our idea. The idea of such a multitier system was related to this question: On whom is the extension of donor aid ultimately dependent? IMF credits cover only part of the CIS countries' financial needs. And when donors hold conferences under the aegis of the World Bank and the IMF, everyone assumes that Russia must cover the main part of these states' financial needs. Of course, if Russia is the main donor, while the IMF dictates the terms, this is asymmetrical. In spite of the latest developments, we continue this line, believing it necessary to ensure the compatibility of the economies, and we have not renounced the vocabulary where the basic term is the integration of monetary systems. Now we are actively working with the government and the National Bank of Belarus, establishing the possibilities for unifying monetary systems through that country's transitional currency, and we are also trying to do everything to consolidate the bridges between our economies, in particular, by encouraging the process of creating transnational financial groups and companies. Such groups are also conduits of the market ideology. Through this we will not only restore the economic links, but also move toward the market together at approximately the same pace.

Multinational Resettlement Agreement for Chernobyl Victims

LD0912124193 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0026 9 Dec 93

[Text] Minsk, Belarus, 8 December—The residents of Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus, granted the status of those resettled from the Chernobyl zone, will now be able to choose freely their future place of residence within the three states. All their civil rights and monetary compensation for moving expenses will be guaranteed at state level. An agreement on this was signed in Minsk. Apart from that, a system to provide support for resettlers was devised.

Black Sea Fleet Facing Financial Problems

MK1112143093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report in the "NEGA Reports" column]

[Text] Crimea—According to the press center of the Black Sea Fleet, the fleet is currently experiencing great financial problems. It lacks funds to modernize and repair ships. Monetary allowances paid to fleet servicemen in karbovanets have a substantially lower purchasing power than those paid to servicemen of the Russian Armed Forces.

In 1993 the fleet received 77 percent of credits from the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and 23 percent from the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. In the last few months the proportion of credits allocated to the fleet has fallen considerably. As of April 1993 Ukraine has been issuing 2 billion karbovanets to the fleet each month. In November, no funds at all came from Ukraine.

Meanwhile the Black Sea Fleet has to bear the high costs of maintaining Ukrainian military servicemen and armed formations. For instance, in the first nine months of this year 26 military units in Ukraine have been granted 2.668 billion karbovanets worth of food.

Belarusian Leader on 2d Anniversary of CIS Formation

LD1012015293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 9 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Parliamentary Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich was speaking in an interview with Interfax on the second anniversary of the foundation of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

[INTERFAX] Our congratulations on the second anniversary of the CIS. What would you like to say on the occasion?

[Shushkevich] Thank you. Much has been said by myself and other leaders of the positive role the CIS has played over the period. If you don't mind, let us talk about our common problems instead.

Unfortunately, many of the prejudices of the past still persist and that's where the root cause of our troubles is.

Many of the CIS resolutions are not bad at all. But when it comes to implementing them, a brake is suddenly applied and the old pattern is put at work: Russia is the center and other CIS states are on the periphery.

We are not yet used to building our relations on the principles accepted by the European Union. As a matter of fact, each CIS state initially tries to build relations with Russia as the real center of the Commonwealth and a country with a huge economic potential. In the meantime, the links between CIS states other than Russia, which share almost identical interests, are very weak. We lack a common strategy and tactics in relations with Russia, which undermines many of the bilateral initiatives.

[INTERFAX] Can you cite any examples?

[Shushkevich] The most glaring one is the story about a common ruble zone with Russia and Central Asian states failing to reach agreement on that. We destroy our common economic area because of a lack of coordination. As a short-term priority, we must bring corrections into our action, I am sure.

[INTERFAX] Don't you think the CIS leaders should have met to discuss how to coordinate action as far as Russia was concerned?

[Shushkevich] True, though the question of a meeting is debatable.

I would like to emphasize that the issue is not one of creating an alliance to confront Russia. What we want is an

improved pattern of relations within the Commonwealth. The current pattern orientating at Russia alone has a negative impact on CIS states and Russia itself. To go back to the question of a common ruble zone. When I look at the arguments that the presidents of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have put forth to explain their countries' withdrawal from the monetary union with Russia, I realize how close our problems are. Russia set very tough conditions to both of them.

Talking about conditions. Politicians must always abide by some code of ethics. Far too often, the statements coming from Russian politicians including Finance Minister Boris Fedorov are far from friendly.

[INTERFAX] You mean his recent interview with the Moscow-based Komsomolskaya Pravda?

[Shushkevich] Quite right. However, the Russian prime minister and his Vice Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fedorov do not appear to be as unanimous as in the past and I arrive at a conclusion that the Finance Minister's proposal to turn Belarus into a colony after it forms a monetary union with Russia is not at all shared by the government. I think government officials must refrain from making such statements.

In fact, I understand Fedorov very well, let alone share his tough rhetoric. But I cannot turn a deaf ear to the angry Belarusian deputies who criticize me for having described Fedorov as a man of intelligence and vision who tries to defend Russian interests. And I quite agree with him that it will be impossible to straighten out Russia's financial system without taking austerity measures at home and toward other CIS states.

[INTERFAX notes that "details of the second part of Shushkevich's interview" will be available on a later "Presidential Bulletin"]

Shushkevich Calls For New 'System of Relations'

LD1012175093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1140 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Stanislav Shushkevich, Chairman of Belarus's Supreme Soviet, called for a "new, more sophisticated" system of relations within the Commonwealth of Independent States in an exclusive interview he gave to Interfax's Minsk correspondent. He emphasized that, "today's pattern in which relations of CIS-member nations are only those with Russia, makes a negative impact on both Russia itself and other CIS member states."

For illustration, the Belarusian leader recalled the attempt that Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Russia mounted to set up a common ruble zone. He took note of the tough conditions that Russia wanted the Central Asian partners to meet in exchange for Russian cash. The Belarusian speaker was cynical about the possibility of setting up a new-style ruble zone in the foreseeable future.

Without naming names, Shushkevich said that numerous Belarusian officials and MP's [members of parliament] were incompetent. This was true of both hard-liners and

radicals. The latter, he said, "are capable only of mouthing old, pointless, ignorance-inspired slogans such as abrogation of the Belaya Vezha accords."

He said that Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich had not told him anything substantial about the Valday meeting with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 11 Dec

LD1112073993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0641 GMT 11 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 11 ITAR-TASS—"Analysing the lists of candidates to the State Duma from one-seat constituencies, it is difficult to guess who will be chosen by the electors—those who represent specific parties or formally independent candidates. Both the first and the second group includes people who have good chances, specifically, officials from local administrations, heads of regional TV companies and newspapers, scientists, writers and, which is most important, representatives of business and industrial groups. The impression is that electors will give preference, in the first place, to those who are familiar to them and, consequently, who rose to prominence in this or that sphere, and will pay far less attention, if any, to their party membership. Independent candidates account for some 60 per cent of the total number, so one could assume that they will also make a majority in the State Duma ... However, one cannot rule out a possibility that the virus of independence, if it gets into the organism of Duma groups, whose party discipline is not very strong anyway, will again bury the dream about the creation of a many-party political system on their basis," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes today.

Another report published by the newspaper deals with the unofficial meeting at the Donskoy Monastery on Friday of top clergymen and the civilians who are especially close to the church. The meeting showed that the church is ready to do all it can for promoting civil peace in Russia, the newspaper points out.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI writes: "We should all be interested in our choice being free and responsible. We should be guided not by the blind faith in the words of those who promise prosperity without much effort tomorrow or within a year, but by a sober-minded analysis of the situation in the country, of the personal characteristics of candidates, confirmed not by speeches and promises, but by concrete actions in the sphere of economy, politics and social security, aimed at getting the country out of the crisis."

"Observers from the European Union will work at multinational and national groups. A multinational group consists of two or three members of parliament from European countries and persons, providing working conditions for them," TRUD writes.

The newspaper carries an interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, who said that the future of Russia now depends on Russians themselves. "It is not the first time Russia is on the cross-roads: One road will take it back to the totalitarian past, another road leads to the collapse of the economy, the way it happened in Ukraine ... The only way that remains for us is to go straight, to continue the reform, to join the community of industrially developed, civilised countries. All petty feelings, all personal ambitions should be forgotten today. What really matters is the future of the country," he stated.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI carries an interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets under the economy heading. He believes that "the scientific and technological potential Russia has today is on a par with the world level by all the main parameters. It is primarily the potential accumulated by the military-industrial complex, which we have been using so far in a most irrational way."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes that "the biggest and most successful bank robbing of all those that took place recently was registered in Moscow on Friday ... Two young people attacked the car of collectors from the Tori-bank, who were taking to the bank 100,000 dollars and 20 million roubles."

Press Review for 14 Dec

LD1412072693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0552
GMT 14 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS— ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on the preliminary results of the December 12 elections to the Federal Assembly and a referendum on the new constitution. "Russia has got a strong and clear-cut constitution" is the headline of the newspaper's commentary on the event. "The system which was established in Russia in the October of 1917 has ceased to exist. There is no Soviet socialist state any longer". The newspaper writes that this has been now confirmed not only by presidential decrees but also by the people themselves—the supreme source of power in Russia.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on forecasts for a new Russian parliament. "Objectively, the new parliament will find itself in circumstances which will urge previous and new intransigents to reach compromises: society does not accept a struggle for destruction any longer".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on the referendum on the constitution.

The newspaper believes that the fact that, judging by preliminary data, 61 percent of voters supported the new constitution and 38 percent opposed it, means that the country has entered a new era of national history.

While pointing out that, as was predicted, Russia's Choice has become an absolute leader, the newspaper emphasises that "a marked success of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Russia has perplexed many politicians and citizens of Russia".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) on Russian servicemen's active participation in the elections and the referendum.

The newspaper emphasises that the percentage of votes cast by them "by far exceeds the country's average". Everything seems to indicate that "servicemen regarded the referendum on the new constitution as being of primary importance."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the Liberal Democratic Party's [LDPR] success.

The newspaper points out that the LDPR's success signifies a "setback of the Russia's Choice Bloc. However, this is not yet a defeat of democracy".

Several years of reforms—both political and economic ones - have not changed the Russian people's predilection for confident leaders who promise a rapid change to be brought about without great difficulties". "At one time it was Boris Yeltsin who availed himself of this predilection. This time it is the turn of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, LDPR leader."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the same subject.

The newspaper remarks with irony that "everything possible has been done for Zhirinovskiy to achieve a success. All conceivable errors have been made".

The newspaper expects that the president of the Russian Federation "will not go past the blunders made by the democrats during the election struggle". The newspaper quotes Boris Yeltsin as saying on Monday that he will "firmly stand on the positions of the new constitution".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an interview with Communist Party Leader Gennadiy Zyuganov who expressed confidence that the Communists "will find a good mutual understanding with an absolute majority of blocs to which peace in the country and wellbeing in every home are the supreme value".

PRAVDA on preliminary results of elections and the referendum.

"Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has reached a height unattainable for many of his rivals first of all because the executive branch of power and its propaganda information service were busy inspiring Russophobia intensively, importunately and consciously."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA runs an interview with Major-General Vladimir Zolotaryov, dr. of science (history), director of the Russian Defence Ministry's Institute of Military History, who dwells on the spiritual beginnings of Russian national patriotism.

Foreign Ministry Aide on Al Gore's Visit*PM1312111793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1*

[Unattributed, untitled report under the "At the Center of Attention" rubric]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Albert Gore will be arriving in Moscow 14 December to take part in the second session of the intergovernmental Russian-U.S. Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation, which will be held 15-16 December.

Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman G. Karasin stated that Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Albert Gore, who are cochairmen of the commission, will discuss a wide range of issues affecting bilateral cooperation. The program for Gore's visit will include a meeting with Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin.

Gore To Discuss Space Cooperation*LD1312205093 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Text] Vice President Al Gore of the United States is due in Russia this week, and one of the main topics he will be discussing is cooperation between the two powers on a space station project. Our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy has these details.

[Belitskiy] The establishment of an international orbital station is to be the main area of Russian-American cooperation in space over the next few years. But all has not been smooth sailing for the proposed space station, tentatively called Alpha for the present.

In the United States the Clinton administration, which has a strong commitment to the project, has had to overcome considerable opposition to it in Congress. Some Congressmen at first balked at the idea of Russian participation in the project as a threat to jobs in the United States. Doubts were also expressed about the quality of Russian workmanship, not to mention other objections. However, the administration appears to have overcome all these objections and secured the full backing of congressional leaders.

Equally strong objections to the project have been voiced in the space community here in Russia. One such objection concerns the use of the United States space shuttle as the only vehicle for carrying crews to and from the station. It's pointed out that this gives the United States unilateral control of the flight program, although Russia is the only country with practical experience of operating a station in earth orbit for prolonged periods of time.

The use of the space shuttle for transportation also means that crew training will be entirely in American hands, and some experts here feel that this could make the Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center redundant and it will be closed down.

Still another objection to the project here in the Russian space community is that owing to the orbital inclination chosen for the station, it will pass over only 5 percent of Russia's territory. This, of course, severely restricts the amount of useful remote sensing that can be done for the needs of Russia's economy, for monitoring the state of the environment in the country, for conducting geological research from orbit, and the like.

Critics of the Alpha project also point out that in exchange for the \$800 million it's to invest in the project on Russia's behalf, the United States will acquire knowhow in which Russia invested tens of billions of rubles, moreover at a time when the ruble was worth far more than it is now. And the share of time that will be allotted to Russia in the station's operations may not exceed 3 percent of the total time.

All these objections have led some critics of the project here in Russia to argue that it may even prove destructive for the Russian space industry.

President Clinton spoke last Friday of the international nature of America's space program. Similar sentiments have been expressed here in this country about the Russian space program. Let us hope that the vice president's visit will help to achieve genuine international cooperation on a space station project.

Institute Head Comments on Eve of Visit*LD1312190893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1845 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Report by Aleksandr Krylovich, ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Russia should seek to change the character of its relations with the United States trying to make the American Administration understand that Russia also has its own interests, which should be taken into consideration, Viktor Kremen'yuk, deputy director of the Institute of the United States and Canada of the Russian Academy of Sciences, told ITAR-TASS on the eve of Vice-President Albert Gore's visit to Moscow.

According to Viktor Kremen'yuk, the grave situation in the Russian economy and weak prospects for its improvement in the near future against the background of the United States' emerging recovery from the recession, are putting Russia in an unequal position with the United States. Loans and credits from the United States will strengthen this dependence still more. Therefore, the researcher believes, Russia should first of all reorientate its economic program towards using its domestic resources which undoubtedly it has. As for the American aid, it should be reduced to a minimum.

In the foreign political sphere Russia also has its top priority interests, and we should remind Americans about them more often, Victor Kremen'yuk stressed. This concerns not only the situation in Europe where Russia is directly connected with the development of the situation in the Baltic states, in Ukraine or Yugoslavia, but also the

situation in Central Asia and the Far East. Specifically, the Russian scientist believes that by backing Japan, the United States take an "unjust position" in the problem of the so-called "Northern Territories."

According to Viktor Kremenyuk, the American Administration should not underestimate the difficulties in the internal political situation in Russia.

Mistakes and miscalculations made by both the Russian leadership and the American Administration may lead to an undesirable "sliding to the right." Therefore it is necessary to try to achieve the situation when actions of the United States on problems which "affect Russia's interests," should be agreed with the Russian actions and in no case run counter to them, deputy director of the Institute of the United States and Canada of the Russian Academy of Sciences pointed out.

Gore Arrives; To Meet Yeltsin

LD1412085393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0823
GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Aleksandr Krylovich, ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 14 December (TASS)— Vice-President Albert Gore has arrived for a working visit to Moscow on Tuesday [14 December] morning. He will take part in the work of the Russia-American commission on economic and technological cooperation set up in line with the Vancouver accords between Presidents Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin. Al Gore is a co-chairman of this commission, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is the other.

According to many observers, during the meeting of the commission a number of agreements will be signed in such leading fields of cooperation between Russia and the United States as space, power engineering, conversion, environmental protection, science and technology.

The commission is expected to discuss in detail a plan for Russia's participation in the international project envisaging the creation of a new space orbital station. For this reason Al Gore begins his stay in Moscow with a visit to the Russian main space mission control centre in Kaliningrad, just outside the capital.

On Wednesday, Al Gore is scheduled to meet with President Boris Yeltsin for talks on bilateral cooperation and international issues. Yeltsin and Gore will also discuss details of the forthcoming Russian-American summit.

Clinton-Al-Asad Meeting Part of U.S. 'Pressure' on Syria

PM1312120193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Reprt by Ravil Mustafin: "Clinton and Al-Asad Will Meet in Geneva"]

[Text] To judge from the modest (if not to say more than modest) results of the Near East tour by U.S. Secretary of

State Warren Christopher, the present head of U.S. diplomacy will not succeed in the near future in matching the master of shuttle diplomacy that Henry Kissinger showed himself to be 20 years ago. Christopher failed to make a breakthrough in any of the main areas of a Near East settlement, above all in the Israeli-Syrian area.

The short list of Christopher's present successes in the Near East is confined to securing the Syrians' consent to return to the peace negotiating table. Let us remind you that Damascus broke off these talks after the PLO signed with the Israelis the plan known as "Gaza and Jericho first," evidently having "forgotten" to inform Syria of this in advance. But the ending of the Syrian boycott of the peace talks still does not mean an automatic solution to the problem of the Golan Heights. Damascus is still demanding—with good reason—the unconditional return of these territories.

The reason for the Americans' unsuccessful attempts to bring the Israeli and Syrian positions closer together lies, in my view, in a desire to overcome the existing gap by pressuring the Syrian side. But it is not proving possible to do this.

It was obviously for this purpose that Christopher organized a meeting between U.S. President Clinton and Syrian leader al-Asad. The meeting is planned for 16 January next year in Geneva. The Americans will most likely use as a means of pressure the promise of removing Syria from the "blacklist" of countries supporting terrorism.

U.S. Warns Kiev Over Sale of Missiles to Iran

PM1312160793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Aleksandr Sychev: "Washington Warns Kiev Against Trading Weapons With Iran"]

[Text] The U.S. State Department has urged Ukraine to show restraint in trading weapons with countries whose policies give cause for concern, and, in particular, has warned against selling arms to Iran. It is a question of missiles of a class not specified by the U.S. foreign policy department.

Last spring Washington complained to Moscow over a Russian-Iranian contract to build three diesel submarines. Now it is Ukraine which has breached the rules by violating, or possibly merely planning to violate, the "quarantine zone."

Iran has used the arms race that has developed in the region as justification for its own five-year program, for which \$10 billion has been allocated.

The persistent efforts by Ukraine to break into the Iranian market are attributable to the Republic's dire economic situation and the search for sources of oil aside from Russia. Experts are convinced that in concluding the contracts with Iran, which Kiev denies even exist, it was probably a question of barter—weapons for oil. Having inherited a mighty defense industry from the former Soviet Union, Ukraine, like Russia, is naturally striving to exploit

it. What is more, few forms of business rival the arms trade for profitability. Russia had to sell Iran just three submarines in order to earn \$600 million, or one-fifth of the revenue from weapons exports in the past year.

Washington resigned itself to the appearance of Iranian submarines in the Persian Gulf only when it secured Moscow's agreement to renounce the Russian-Indian agreement on deliveries of rocket motors. The Ukrainian Government, accused by the U.S. Administration of violating the missile technology control regime and of giving missiles to Iran, has limited possibilities for compromise.

Ambassador to U.S. on Human Rights in Baltics

WS1312153693 Tallinn BNS in English 1119 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec, BNS—There's a growing understanding in America that the problem of human rights for the Russian-speaking population in the Baltics really exists, claims Russian ambassador to the United States, Vladimir Lukin.

Lukin, who is also a candidate in Russia's upcoming parliamentary elections, says America was becoming conscious of the problem with a certain delay, because "we really occupied the Baltic countries and the United States never recognized that occupation." He said also that the human rights issues were observed within that context.

"Nowhere must people be put before a severe and inadmissible choice: either assimilate in a record short time or leave the country," he said.

But the Russian diplomat also said that forceful measures must not be used for resolving the issue. "Russia must understand that the Baltic countries are small and have their own psychoses and problems arising from their historical development," he said. "But they also must understand us," he told potential voters.

Lukin said a danger of explosion was inherent in the situation when a part of the Russian population lives outside the country's borders. The diplomat-candidate said the problem had to be handled with absolute seriousness so that events similar to those that happened, for instance, in connection with the Sudeten Germans, wouldn't repeat themselves.

Lukin said efforts aimed at resolving the issue should be among the priorities of Russia's foreign policy. He said it was necessary that the Russian-speaking population be offered more and different options. Russia should ensure that its countrymen feel their rights in every way respected.

"This is what has to be achieved, and we will achieve it," he said.

Kozyrev, Hurd View Russian Peacemaking Role

PM1312204593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Article by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd: "Europe Will Not Enter CIS 'Hot Spots,' Nor Will It Give Russia a Free Hand"]

[Text] Foreign ministers rarely write joint articles. A serious reason is always needed for this to happen. The conflicts in the former Soviet Union provide just such a reason. This problem was at the center of talks between Andrey Kozyrev and Douglas Hurd during a recent visit by the Russian foreign minister to Britain. Indeed, it was one of the main questions on the agenda of the meeting of CSCE foreign ministers in Rome.

We both returned from Rome with similar impressions. The international community is beginning to overcome its "obsession" with the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and is becoming increasingly aware of the real extent and gravity of ethnic and political conflicts in the former USSR. Conflicts in the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, and other regions of the former Soviet Union are causing great suffering to the peoples involved in them. They are a subject of legitimate concern for Russians alarmed by the conflicts close to their borders. There is also concern in Russia about the safety of the Russian-speaking population of countries where these conflicts are raging, as well as the economic and social consequences of the influx of refugees into the country (according to available estimates, there is already over 2 million of them). It is believed in Russia that the problems in a number of former USSR republics are being ignored abroad, or that they are incorrectly perceived. The Russian side is afraid that, if it sits back with folded arms, these conflicts will worsen and possibly even spread into other regions. Russians believe that they have legitimate grounds to try and settle the conflicts threatening their security. They are asking themselves the following question: Why is it that the international community, having participated in peacemaking efforts in many troubled regions of the world, cannot undertake similar efforts in the "hot spots" near Russia?

At the same time, these conflicts are a subject of legitimate concern for Britain, its Western partners, and the entire international community both for humanitarian reasons and because such outbursts threaten to intensify regional instability. Unless these conflicts are curbed, they will aggravate a whole series of threats to European security, such as trade in narcotics, arms smuggling, and international terrorism. The crises in Russia's neighboring countries, which have recently acquired independence, may also complicate relations between Russia and the West. A careless approach to these crises may damage the strengthening of relations between us in the event of improper behavior by any of the sides.

At times the West is suspicious of Moscow's approach to these conflicts. We are unanimous that these conflicts have to be settled. The differences of opinion concern the

question of methods of actions. The British Government will not support Russian participation in a settlement unless it is can be sure that peacemaking forces will not turn into occupying forces. But the countries which gained independence after the USSR ceased to exist do not want the West to move toward an endorsement of Moscow in the very same role which it played in the Soviet empire. Young states fear that this will damage their sovereignty. In cases where they are interested in the presence of Russian peacemaking forces, they advocate international controls in one form or other. This means that, even though the West does not have the resources for direct involvement in settling these conflicts, it is reluctant to create the impression that it is prepared instead to sanction Russian participation if it is of an imperial nature.

When formulating a joint approach by Russia and its Western partners to the problem of peacemaking in the former USSR, we must take this concern into account. It is obvious that Russia plays an important role in this region. If the Russian side strives to secure international recognition of and more active support for its efforts from the international community, then the West needs guarantees that this recognition will not be perceived by it as a free hand to take action in the former USSR. Peacemaking in this region, as in other regions of the world, must comply with internationally recognized principles. Each peacemaking operation requires an individual approach. Respect for the sovereignty of young states is extremely important.

We reached agreement about the fact that peacemaking operations by Russia, the CIS, or on an international basis must be based in particular on the following principles: Strict respect for the sovereignty of states involved in the conflict, an invitation from the relevant government, and agreement on the part of the sides in the conflict; support for the process of political settlement of the conflict; the presence of a clear mandate defining the role of the peacemaking forces (which must always, where possible, be multinational); and the existence of a strategy for the subsequent withdrawal of peacemaking forces.

Although neither the CSCE nor the United Nations has the capacity to send large peacekeeping forces into the conflict region, they could elaborate measures guaranteeing supervision over the process of establishing peace. A broadening of cooperation within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, as well as between Russia and NATO, could help to improve the training of Russian peacemakers. We intend to look into this possibility.

It is also necessary to use preventive diplomacy much more actively. One important means of preventing conflicts is to strengthen democratic institutions within young states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. The CSCE and other international institutions could play an important role in this, drawing these states into more active dialogue about ways to implant democratic values and principles.

We must find ways of limiting and defusing tension before it develops into conflict. The potentially explosive mixture

of ethnic and political enmity could easily spread the flames of intolerance to other countries and regions. We must rebuff this threat together. Our security is indivisible.

Intelligence Report Considers NATO Expansion

PM1312165793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 3

[Commentary by Yuriy Glukhov: "Putting Its Cards on the Table. Information for Consideration Prepared by Russian Foreign Intelligence Service Analysts"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] has twice this year outlined its assessment and conclusions with regard to the most acute problems today. Its first open report was on the subject of the proliferation of mass destruction weapons, while its second investigation, published just recently, was on no less topical a subject—"The Prospects of NATO's Expansion and Russia's Interests."

The question of the North Atlantic bloc's expansion is not a hypothetical one. It even came up at the meeting between Russian President B. Yeltsin and NATO Secretary General Woerner in Brussels. The North Atlantic alliance foreign and defense ministers have again just discussed the idea of admitting new members in some guise or other and of expanding the bloc's "area of responsibility." It is proposed that the forthcoming 10-11 January meeting of the NATO states' leaders should approve the U.S. "Partnership for Peace" plan. This is why the "information for consideration" prepared by foreign intelligence department analysts and presented by its director, Ye. Primakov, provoked a wide range of international response.

It seems that our side has for the first time given an open, frank, and competent forecast of the possible scenarios for the development of events if NATO expands and of the consequences for Russia. It came not only as a warning of the possible precipitous steps the West may take. I think that it also makes a contribution to the development of Moscow's foreign policy, which is distinguished by being unusually erratic (for example, on the question of Poland, or even Russia itself, being admitted to NATO).

The FIS analysts' report examines a whole series of factors which could "lead to a backtracking to bloc politics, moreover at a time when NATO's areas of responsibility are extending right up to the Russian Federation's borders." This "persistence of the stereotypes of bloc thinking is particularly characteristic of a number of representatives of Western countries' military leaderships and of the alliance as a whole. One of these stereotypes is connected with the fact that the USSR, with Russia at its heart, was for many years seen as the main source of military threat to Western civilization's very existence." Besides, by dint of its original nature, NATO was oriented toward strategic planning "according to the worst-case scenario."

The military-industrial complex, which is worried about maintaining its profits and consequently about NATO's militaristic orientation, is also bringing pressure to bear. The analysis points out that we should not leave out of the

equation the inertia of the arms race, which requires that an "enemy image" is maintained constantly in the public consciousness, even if it is only a potential enemy. What is more, this is not just conjecture by "hypervigilant" FIS staff.

One of the high priests of U.S. diplomacy, H. Kissinger, formulated his case for continuing a tough policy toward Russia in an article in THE WASHINGTON POST: "A political structure like that of Russia, which in a two-year period led to two attempted coups d'etat, should not be given the right of veto on the question of NATO membership and should not itself be declared to have the right to NATO membership. If the aim is to avoid 'blocs' and 'discrimination,' then a suitable time for admitting the East European states without Russia will never come. If this question's resolution is going to depend on Russia, Moscow will receive the right of veto or the opportunity to erode the existing institutions to a point where the expediency of their further existence is in question.... We opposed blackmail when Russia was strong. Is it wise to allow Moscow to blackmail us now, this time with its internal weaknesses?"

It is possible that the advocates of this tough policy have not thought about the response that we might be forced to make to this. In this respect the FIS report's conclusions look particularly useful. The report says that "the fact that NATO's expansion would mean that the world's largest military grouping—with immense offensive potential at its disposal—would move to positions in the immediate vicinity of the Russian border requires all defensive concepts to be fundamentally rethought, the Armed Forces to be reorganized, the operational division of theaters of military operations to be reviewed, the operational infrastructure to be developed, major military forces to be redeployed, and operational plans and the nature of combat training to be changed. In the eyes of the military, these measures are an objective reality, and should be carried out irrespective of whether NATO is no longer considered an enemy from the political viewpoint. There is no doubt that the opposite side would be seen to adopt a parallel approach in a similar situation."

These conclusions are already beginning to be taken into consideration. In any case this is the impression left after the Russian President B. Yeltsin's negotiations in Brussels.

A game where one's cards are put on the table is an unusual modus operandi for intelligence services. But, after all, there should not, in fact, be any underhand games when the future of the world and peoples' security are at stake.

German Ambassador Explains EC View of Russia
PM1412094193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10
Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov: "Full Membership for Russia Would Wreck the EC Framework, the FRG Ambassador in Moscow Believes"]

[Text] Minds, like parachutes, work when they open.

This English observation was recalled by German ambassador in Moscow Otto von der Gablentz, making his debut in Russian academic circles on Tuesday. His lecture to staff and guests of the Academy of Sciences Europe Institute marked the start of the "German Lectures," which the institute would like to become traditional.

The lecture was on a very topical theme for opening minds: the German experience of integration in Europe and how it might to apply to Russia, which is tackling the same task. The diplomat was not in the least overbearing, but what he said spoke for itself. The West Germans started out on their path to reconciliation with France and to a united Europe over 40 years ago by turning and "facing the world after two generations of nearly total isolation." Now that the Maastricht Treaty has come into effect and the removal of border posts between the countries of the European Union is in the offing, the underlying historic changes are illustrated, in particular, by the German's "multiple identity." If he lives, for example, in Munich, where Hitler started preaching ethnic exclusiveness and racism, today's German quite naturally sees himself as four people in one—resident of Munich, Bavarian, German, and European.

Given that the European Union itself entails a high degree of supranational centralization, the developing decentralization and unity in diversity, born of economic needs, and the emphasis on links between regions of different states are even more important and evident. The integrated Europe is a "Europe of regions."

Despite the progress of Europeans' "multiple identity," integration is taking place more quickly in the economy than in peoples' minds, according to Von der Gablentz. Minds, rooted in national boundaries, are lagging behind.

The lecture was not timed to coincide with President Yeltsin's visit to Brussels, capital of the European Union. But coincidences sometimes "open" minds as well. The Russian president grandly proclaimed before leaving Moscow that Russia—finally, and for the first time—had been admitted to Europe. If the ambassador had spoken a day later, he might have refrained from saying, following the president's exclamation, that the European Union "may yet accommodate" the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary, but "full membership for a country like Russia would wreck its framework."

Such frank words, you might say, shocked some members of the audience and prompted a debate after the lecture. The ambassador did not take them back, but he did mitigate and clarify them. Integration, as it is known in West Europe and as it has been methodically implemented, is a "process of constant political renewal." If the world continues to develop as it is at the moment, in 20-30 years' time Russia could be impressively integrated in Europe. "Full membership" at a stroke, of course, is not possible in real life, but only given the age-old Russian belief in miracles.

Our minds and particularly our hearts are more open to embraces with other peoples (or imprecations against the

latest "orchestrators" of the latest "world conspiracies") than to the work that has taken decades and which is now tantalizingly spread out before us in the West. Instant, miraculous, "full membership" is indeed inconceivable. Despite looking kindly on Russian democracy, the EC leaders are not about to kill their own creation, which would happen, of course, if their union were to lumber itself with the burden of Russian problems and Russian distances with their history of bad communications.

The declaration of partnership and cooperation between Russia and the EC is less than the agreement on the same theme which they were unable to prepare in time for Yeltsin's visit to Brussels. But it is a real measure of what is possible.

When the leaders of the Asia-Pacific Economic Community from the United States, China, and Japan to Thailand, the Philippines, and Australia met in Seattle a few weeks ago to look ahead to the 21st century, Russia was not among their number, as if it were not in Asia and did not reach the Pacific Ocean. The factor of the Soviet military presence has disappeared, but a Russian economic presence worthy of a superdynamic region, alas, has not emerged. Against the background of this Asia-Pacific gap (or lacuna), integration in Europe is proceeding nonetheless and must be preserved and cherished.

Returning to the Europe Institute debut by the new FRG ambassador, who only arrived in Moscow in September, I would like to single out another of his ideas—unoriginal, but worth repeating. In order to integrate in Europe and the world, Russia too must create a national "elite with international experience." When they were setting about this in West Germany, in order to overcome the legacy of two isolated generations, a struggle was in progress in the Soviet Union in the late forties and early fifties which was increasing the state of isolation. Since then a great deal has been done to produce an elite—not an elite, but, to put it more simply, a stratum of people maintaining, albeit in conditions of confrontation, a certain level of peaceful coexistence, international contacts, and expanding cooperation. The elite necessary for building integration bridges cannot be established overnight, out of nothing. And it is no good writing off old cadres, including diplomatic and academic cadres, with radical democratic panache and hunger for a monopoly place in the sun.

An elite that raises and guarantees the level of interstate cooperation is all the more necessary when the mass consciousness is actually lagging behind the course of economic integration. It is pointless and unnecessary to hold it responsible for this, since this lag punishes the people for their own history. Everyone has his role to play: The elite's role is to move things into the future with its "multiple identity"; the role of the masses is to resist excessive haste.

Otto von der Gablentz's lecture naturally prompted the question whether the appearance of a united Germany and a European superpower would pose a new threat to Europe and European unity, in particular to the German-French alliance. As an experienced member of the "international

elite," the ambassador sees the grounds for those fears. According to him, a united Germany is a European Germany, otherwise the very unification would be unacceptable to neighbors both in the West and in the East. The surest way to avoid the threat from a united Germany would be even greater integration of Europe. The German firm that produces Mercedes vehicles cannot be a tool of political power, he believes, if only because it is part of an integrated economic force. Well, let's hope so.

Yugoslavia Chief of Staff Views Bosnia Conflicts

PM1312125993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Sergey Sidorov: "The Yugoslav Conflict and Humanitarian Law. The Viewpoint of the Chief of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Army General Staff"]

[Text] The intention to exclude the use of proscribed weapons in combat operations is worthy of the highest assessment. Unfortunately, however, the results achieved in this noble cause are still far from ideal. Lieutenant Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), stated this in conversation with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent.

A Yugoslav military delegation consisting of Pavle Bulatovic, minister of defense of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], and Gen. M. Perisic participated in the meeting of representatives of the military departments of some 20 countries held in St. Petersburg in connection with the 125th anniversary of the signing of the St. Petersburg convention banning the use of explosive and incendiary bullets.

Gen. Perisic regretfully pointed out that instances of the use of ammunition banned by the convention, including so-called "dumdum" bullets and small-arms ammunition with a displaced center of gravity, have been recorded both during the Bosnian conflict and in clashes between Serbs and Croats in Serbian Krajina. He expressed the conviction that continued efforts are needed to educate servicemen and all citizens in the spirit of respect for humanitarian law. As regards drawing up and, in particular, adopting a mechanism which will effectively prevent the use of proscribed weapons, in Perisic's opinion this is a matter certainly not for military men alone.

Commenting on the present situation in Bosnia at the request of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent, the Yugoslav military chief pointed out the following in particular. At present, only Croats and Muslims are fighting each other—which attests once again to the absurdity of the sanctions against the FRY, which is not involved in the conflict. The struggle is being waged for territories in Central Bosnia: The Croats are seeking to preserve their positions in this region, while the Muslims are seeking to create a compact territory and gain control of cities where there is developed military production—Travnik, Vitez, and Bugojno. At the same time Muslim formations are seeking an outlet to the Adriatic along the valley of the

Neretva River in the direction of the population centers of Neum and Ploce. According to all the signs, the Muslim leadership is perfectly happy with the option of a protracted war.

Gen. Perisic expressed a skeptical attitude to the Franco-German initiative for a settlement in Bosnia. Maybe, he said, the compilers of the new plan sincerely want the Bosnian conflict to end as soon as possible. But the lack of clear-cut mechanisms for carrying this out, the simplistic manner in which the question of the Serbs' position in Krajina is raised, and the attempt to equate it with the Albanian question in Kosovo leave little chance of success.

Replying to a question about the possibility of renewed Croatian military action against Serbian Krajina in the immediate future, the chief of the Yugoslav General Staff emphasized that he does not rule out such a possibility. At the same time, in Perisic's opinion, a number of factors make it unlikely. Among these he mentioned the presence of UN forces in Krajina, the lessening of support for Croatia from its traditional allies, the republic's direct involvement in military operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is swallowing up considerable resources, and internal problems, particularly in the regions of Istria and Dalmatia.

In conclusion, Gen. Perisic voiced bewilderment at the fact that the new Yugoslavia's love of peace and its desire to play a stabilizing role in the Balkans are continuing to be ignored by a number of influential states. Instead, steps leading to a prolongation of the armed conflict are being taken. Meanwhile, the military chief emphasized, the problems of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can be resolved only by peaceful means.

'Partial Exodus' From Algeria Reported

PM1312123993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Sergey Filatov: "Partial Evacuation"]

[Text] Our embassy and other foreign establishments are being evacuated from Algeria as local gunmen have increased the frequency of their terrorist attacks on Russian citizens. This alarming news has spread across Moscow. To find out what is really happening we contacted the Russian Foreign Ministry. Near East Section Chief Vladimir Gudev commented on the situation:

"The internal political situation in Algeria really is complex and tense. A series of terrorist actions against foreign citizens was mounted 5 December. The Russian wife of an Algerian citizen, Larisa Ayadi [name as transliterated] was shot in broad daylight in the capital's market place. Then a bus used for transporting a group of our specialists was

shot at in the Algerian suburb of Regay [name as transliterated], as a result of which the Algerian driver and guards were wounded.

"The Russian side realizes the seriousness of the situation and is taking measures by agreement with the local authorities to protect our people: The guards on their residences and workplaces have been strengthened, and small groups of specialists in remote areas are being moved to other locations nearer to the capital.

"The Russian Foreign Ministry is now recommending that all our citizens refrain from traveling to Algeria and that organizations cut the number of people at jointly run facilities there. A partial exodus of Russians from Algeria is beginning. The first flight bringing them out arrives in Moscow Saturday night or Sunday morning.

"The death of two Russian military specialists in the city of Laghouat, followed by the murder of Larisa Ayadi and about 10 citizens of France, Spain, Italy, and other countries, is in our opinion blatant gangsterism which is merely covered up by political slogans. Whoever the murderers may be, they are attempting to inflame the political situation within Algeria, discredit the country, and force foreigners to leave with the purpose of winding up still further the spiral of conflict from which Algeria has been suffering for some years now."

Korean Workers Party Plenary Session Examined

SK1312235793 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Commentary by Igor Lebedev from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Our station commentator Igor Lebedev writes on the plenary session of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee held recently in Pyongyang:

According to the KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, the plenary session states that the Seven-Year plan has not been fulfilled in many areas. It says, for example, that the plan for the production of electricity has not been fulfilled and that the tasks given in the Seven-Year Plan for the production of metallurgical and chemical goods have not been fulfilled.

The DPRK admits that events that have taken place in the international arena were reason for these failures. It says that the antisocialist offensives against the DPRK by the imperialists and reactionaries were a major reason for these failures.

Our station commentator Igor Lebedev says: Under these difficult economic circumstances, the WPK Central Committee presented a plan to direct primary efforts to agriculture, the light industry, and foreign trade during two or three years of an adjustment period.

Political Issues

Chernomyrdin Reviews First Year in Office

LD1312153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1439
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told journalists on Monday [13 December], summing up the results of his one year in office, that "one year in the post of the prime minister has been like a moment to me."

"I wanted to do a lot during this year - to streamline the work of the government, to realise what was going on, to adopt a programme of political activities of the government," Chernomyrdin said. "I was lucky that the president understands and supports me and that I enjoy the president's immense support without which I would be unable to work," the prime minister added.

"I cannot but mention those who worked by my side - members of the government. No matter what "maneuvers" they used, I can say that they are highly qualified people far above the "1992 caliber." Their being so different from each other is only for the better. I like such a government. From my previous experience of being in other posts I know what it means to work in a government in which only one person takes the floor, Chernomyrdin said, adding that the present government "realises what we should do next." [quotation marks as received]

During a 40-minute meeting journalists reminded Chernomyrdin of his statement made on December 14, 1992 when he declared that he was for the market devoid of "bazaar" in the economy. "I have not changed my views in principle, we need the market not for the sake of the form but for the sake of having the market mechanism working, aimed at re-production and facing the people's needs.... And when everything is being done in order to make money make more money - it is not the market but is even worse than a bazaar. This is precisely what we should not allow happen in our society... I am satisfied that I have done a lot during this year to prevent the country from turning into a commercial kiosk. We shall not be able to make transformations in Russia at the expense of the 'kiosk' market economy," Chernomyrdin declared.

Speaking about the results of the outgoing year in the economic sphere, the premier said that the government has succeeded in bringing inflation down from 30 per cent a month in the beginning of 1993 to 16 per cent in November. "There will be no stability in society if inflation remains high," he added.

Additionally, price growth rates have also dropped from two per cent a day in January to 1.7 per cent a week in December. The Central Bank of Russia and the Ministry of Finance control the budget deficit which should not exceed 10 per cent of the gross domestic product by the end of the year. Among other achievements, Chernomyrdin named the termination of "disinterested financing" of the rouble zone of the Commonwealth and the stabilisation of the rouble to the U.S. dollar.

Speaking about the living standards in Russia, Chernomyrdin said that people's incomes have increased by ten per cent this year. Retail trade turnover has grown as much.

"The average wage in Russia in November was 105,000 roubles. In December we expect it to reach 125,000 roubles, or about 100 U.S. dollars," the premier said, recalling that in the beginning of the year it was only 30 U.S. dollars.

He admitted that production decline continues. Structural reform in industry has failed and the problem of non-payments persists.

Chernomyrdin stressed that the government paid special attention to the social dimension of reform in the past year. "All we have mapped out in our programmes has a social orientation. We must not backtrack on this," he warned.

Russia's natural wealth and industrial potential "do not give reasons for self-humiliation." "Russia has always held and will hold a worthy place in the world. Russia is the state with which others must and will reckon, even if we are in a situation like the present one. These are the difficulties of our country and its people and we will overcome them," he said.

Chernomyrdin said that Russia has no special ambitions. "We do not want any special privileges, but we will not allow (anyone) to humiliate us," he said.

Moscow TV Carries News Conference

LD1312221793 Moscow Ostankino Television First
Channel Network in Russian 1840 GMT 13 Dec 93

[News conference held by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin with unidentified reporters in Moscow on 13 December—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Tomorrow it will be exactly one year since Viktor Chernomyrdin came to chair the Russian Government. Perhaps it is purely a coincidence that it precisely during these days that Russia is beginning a new political year in its life. It is entering this year with a hope that we will certainly have a better life, more worthy of human beings—after all, we are going to live in accordance with a new constitution which many people have not yet fully understood and some have not yet accepted. Well, how does the head of the Russian Government see this stretch of Russia's history? He spoke about this today at a news conference in Moscow.

[Chernomyrdin] We have very good reasons to congratulate ourselves on this important date, but I would like, first and foremost, to congratulate the country on the adoption of the new constitution. Time will pass—the precise figures will soon be known. The main thing with which we were intimidated was the uncertainty over whether the voters would turn out or not. But our people are not like that.

This is our principal document and I consider this in fact as Russia's birthday. We wanted and worked for a law-based state. Now we have it. So let us learn to live by the

constitution. And if it is necessary to act by the constitution, we will do so—both in parliament and elsewhere.

Of course, we know what we have managed to do and even more so, what we have failed to do. I can tell you frankly, with a high inflation rate we will never have stability in society, and the people will be displeased with whatever government they have. Just think where we started—inflation was over 30 percent, and now, in November we had an inflation rate of 16 percent for the first time in the last 15 months. Is that a victory? Oh no, far from that—this rate is still high; yet it is nothing compared with what there used to be. Or look at the deficit of the federal budget. Today the Ministry of Finance is keeping it in control and at the end of the year it will not exceed 10 percent of the gross national product. That is 10 percent, as compared with 17 percent in 1990, or with 30 percent in 1992 or 1991. In actual fact, we have managed, jointly with the Central Bank, to take this sphere under control. Today the real income of the population has increased by 10 percent.

This is not much, I repeat, not much but the 10 percent show that there already is a tendency. Compared to the previous year, in 1993 retail outlets sold—and the population bought—51 percent more radio sets, 32 percent more television sets, and 58 percent more refrigerators and freezers. Let us take salaries. In November, on the whole, the average pay in Russia was 105,000 rubles [R]. In December, we expect it to be R125,000 as this year's final result. In fact, this is 120, that is, more than \$100. But we started from \$7! Early this year we hovered around a \$30 level. But today it is already more than \$100.

It has been possible to streamline the government's work and the government has started working in an agreed way. This is very important, too, since each member of government has understood what he has to do and what depends on him.

I can speak, too about where we have failed, and this causes the greatest concern. Where have we failed? We have failed, primarily, to stop a fall in production, however strange this may be and however difficult this can be for us. And this has enormous importance for all our other actions. The fall has not been halted. We must halt it, but it cannot be halted without financial stabilization. The next thrust, the next stage and subsequent enormous work should be precisely aimed at halting the fall in production. We must work on production; instead of dealing with the pace of decline we should deal with the pace of growth. We have failed to restructure our industry according to our plans. But we have failed not because we could not but rather because we have not had enough time yet. The huge problem of nonpayments remains.

[Reporter] Viktor Stepanovich, excuse me, you gave us a detailed economic analysis now. Perhaps we could speak in more human terms. A year has passed since you became head of the government. We know, of course, your previous work and posts and the places where you worked, and some kinds of comparisons can be made. But there have not been many heads of Russian government in our

country, and this is, in principle, a burden which is placed on one person. What burden is this and how can it be carried?

[Chernomyrdin] You know, a year has passed and this is not much. Speaking about practical things, as we do, of course, we have done little.

For me, this year has gone in a flash, and yet I wanted to do so much—put the work of government on the right footing, understand what is happening, adopt a program of action for the government, a program of actual tasks, a priority and a mid-term program. But when you look at what we have had to do this year, at what we succeeded in doing and, moreover, what we failed to do, I have the impression that I have been prime minister for a very long time.

In my work as prime minister, I have been lucky, first and foremost, in that I have enjoyed the support of the president, his understanding and support in everything, that's the first thing. Second, I have enjoyed the president's enormous, boundless trust. Work would have been impossible without this. I can say this frankly, without looking over my shoulder. I and my colleagues have only one thing to worry about—making fewer mistakes. We understand what the government, in its present composition, must do next.

As for my attitude to the market—I understand that this caused immediate alarm for everyone, for the whole of our society, for the whole of our country. I listened to a lot of this alarm over this year, including when I was abroad and when everyone said, well, when they heard in Europe that Chernomyrdin the apparatchik [nomenklaturshik], the bureaucrat-manager [khozyaystvennik], is now in office. The end! Russia will again go under, into the darkness, or somewhere. We do not need the market just for the sake of form. Just the form is not enough! The market mechanisms have to work, they have to be used for production, to create a new man. But when society has a certain set of ideas and cannot understand what is going on—buy, sell; bought resold [word indistinct] and money starts to make money—what sort of market is that? It is not a market, it is worse than the bazaar. This should be prevented from happening in our society.

I have to tell you that there are issues that require some rethinking. There are points which need to be extracted from the programs published by blocs and parties. There are matters which the government is duty-bound to take into account, and I believe it will do so in its practical work. These are matters of accord, of cooperation, and of using the experience of these people. It must be used. The most important thing is to solve problems. Today we must take new steps, and right now we are preparing these new steps, and we will also make them public. They are about the advancement and widening of the economic reforms. This is what I consider to be important, paramount for the government.

[Reporter] What do you think about a situation, which will definitely arise, when Mr. Zhirinovskiy will demand that members of his party be included in the Russian Government?

[Chernomyrdin] I have already replied, that first I would react in accordance with the constitution. Second, the government will change somehow, in any case. There will be frequent changes and it is not necessary to connect this with the elections. Right now the government will have to be modified. This is life. But as long as I am holding my position, I will be striving to ensure that only professionals work in the government. But the main thing is that professionalism must be expressed in a desire to work for the betterment of Russia.

I should not like anyone to run away with the impression that we, that Russia, has now ended up taking some kind of back seat. That is far from the case. The potential we have—and here I am thinking not actually of resources, which are given by God, but of the industrial potential we have today—gives no grounds for running ourselves down. For this reason I believe that Russia occupies a worthy place in the world.

Russia is a state which others should reckon with, and will have to reckon with, even if we are in the kind of position we find ourselves in today—a tough and difficult one. But these are our own difficulties, these are the difficulties of our people, the difficulties of our country, which we have chosen for ourselves. We must overcome these difficulties—and we will overcome them. But I can say once again that Russia has occupied a worthy place and continues to do so.

We have just adopted a military doctrine which has become entirely a defensive doctrine. We have stated this, and I repeat: We no longer have an enemy image, we have pushed it away. We do not have it today and do not want to have it. We do not see it anywhere and I think the whole of mankind is progressing in this direction. So, I would like to repeat, this would enable us to concentrate better on economic issues. Therefore, in the future, Russia will hold a place that befits it.

The first thing we did—even though it was very difficult—as we were transforming our economy into a market system, this year we added a social dimension to this process as a matter of priority. Did everything work out? Far from it. We have not done all we could for the people working in the sphere of culture and art, or for you and your colleagues—we could have done much more. But at least everything we have written in our programs has a social aspect to it. If we depart from this—that will be the end. There are many countries with market economies, which nevertheless eke out a miserable existence. If we, in our work, in our programs, in our actions and undertakings, forget about the social sphere—that will be the end. So we have at least ensured this.

I admit that we have by no means succeeded in everything. But look: This year we have built more housing than last year. Moscow alone is commissioning 3 million square meters this year—this is an unprecedented figure. This is not only happening in Moscow. Look how capital construction is developing. As I say, these are only isolated examples. But this is what we want and we have it in our programs—we have done painfully little for the social

sphere, the schools, the higher education, the scientific research. But we have our program and we will go on tackling these issues.

Therefore, the social dimension in our activities will always remain the most important thing. It must always be the most important thing. We used to do everything for the people, as it was called, but in actual fact, it turned out that we have done precious little in comparison with the West. There, they never said that they were living and doing everything for the sake of the people. They always talked about business and at the same time worked for the people, while we said all the time that we were doing everything for the people, but the people themselves were forgotten. It turned out that no one actually thought about the people. At any rate, even if we have not managed to get everything done, at least we wanted to have it done. So, now it is going to be difficult, but the people must be and will be in the focus of everything we do.

Gaydar Aide on Negotiations With Miners, Achievements

MK1112133093 Moscow OBSHCHEAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 21/23, 10-16 Dec 93 (Signed to press 9 Dec) p 1

[Interview with Aleksey Ulyukayev, adviser to Yegor Gaydar, by Yelena Dikun; place and date not given: "A Banana Peel Has Been Thrown in Gaydar's Way"]

[Text] [Dikun] First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar spent the beginning of December in exhausting negotiations with the miners of Vorkuta and Kuzbass. This mission now is raising many questions. Why was Gaydar and nobody else sent to adjust the labor conflict with the miners? After all, there is the fuel and energy minister; there is a vice premier, who oversees the fuel and energy complex; and there is also the labor minister, obligated to adjust labor disputes. Finally, there is the finance minister, who "owes" money to the miners. Moreover, it should be noted, the miners did not make any complaints against either the Economy Ministry or Gaydar in person.

[Ulyukayev] There are several reasons why Gaydar was sent to the miners and why he actually went. Formally, Gaydar is chairman of the Interdepartmental Commission on the Coal Industry. In this capacity he has to deal with far more global problems than miners strikes or wages, although this is all very serious. But the fact is that this money-losing sector sustained by subsidies cannot forever hang around the taxpayer's neck. Many mines and pits are totally inefficient, and something must be done about this. A serious and well-conceived program is needed to restructure the branch, rehabilitate the miners, and provide employment to miners. A whole complex of very serious problems is involved here and Gaydar deals with all of this in the Interdepartmental Commission.

Still, in a certain sense Gaydar was "sent" to the miners. Premier Chernomyrdin asked his first deputy to go and resolve a matter that he has undertaken to address himself.

It is another matter that Gaydar has certain moral obligations, including to the miners. After all, the miners have in some form or another supported the reforms from the outset. The point is that there are people who are inclined to forget their moral obligations very quickly. Support has been given, they think, and that is that—so long. And there are also people who do not forget this.

[Dikun] Yet many think that Gaydar has been deliberately placed in a no-win situation. After all, the dispute between the miners and the government is hopeless. And it could be anticipated that Gaydar would not be able to find a common language with them. Clearly, in the run-up to the elections that could affect Russia's Choice's chances in the election campaign.

[Ulyukayev] It needs to be taken into account that our young labor movement is influenced by people from various quarters, often with the best possible intentions. Gaydar will not promise more than he can deliver even during an election campaign period. Naturally, some problems will arise, as certain people have expected. If some pressure is brought to bear on the miners, a "political banana peel" could be thrown in under the man's feet. By this I mean that if Gaydar cannot straighten out the miners' problems, he cannot come to terms with anybody. Why then should one vote for him? Therefore this motive was present and Gaydar understood this. Nonetheless, he went ahead with his mission.

[Dikun] Who was trying to play this trick on the first vice premier?

[Ulyukayev] This rather refers to the sphere of speculation and I would not like to talk on this subject.

[Dikun] There is also another supposition: By sending Gaydar to the miners, the prime minister and a certain part of the cabinet wanted to confront the radical reformer with the tough reality of life. He must see for himself what mass bankruptcies of enterprises can lead to, and feel the reality of a social explosion with his own skin. In other words, Gaydar was "dipped" into the stream of life, as it were.

[Ulyukayev] This is an absurd idea. Over two years Gaydar has often been deeply immersed into this stream of life, believe me. I have seen this with my own eyes: I have often traveled with Yegor Timurovich.

[Dikun] What was Gaydar's mood when he came back from his meetings with the miners?

[Ulyukayev] At any rate, better than when he was going there. Because the miners and leaders of labor committees are not what they are made out to be in the mass media. They are calmer and less hysterical.

[Dikun] Yet the strike took place, even if only for one day. Why?

[Ulyukayev] Again we may embark on the slippery slope of speculation. I do not know that happened after our departure but perhaps someone else came to the miners after that. Maybe there is a certain difference between what

happens during the talks and "after." Yet, it should be noted, Kuzbass did not support Vorkuta. During our visit the miners said practically nothing about the strike. They were more concerned with their wages and future employment. After all, they understand very well that the unprofitable mines will have to be closed in the end.

[Dikun] When the government discussed the budget for the fourth quarter, did it not expect that the miners would demand that back wages be repayed?

[Ulyukayev] Of course, these are obvious things. But making concrete decisions when the budget is falling apart and there is no money for anything always involves a certain risk. Moreover, it is not very easy to assess the extent of this risk, and this is a big problem for the government. The cabinet of ministers has obligations not only to the miners but also to the agricultural sector, the military-industrial complex, and the construction workers. Yet there is also another aspect. If we, anticipating the possibility of the social situation aggravating in a particular sphere, close the gap with large sums of money, envisioning such spending in the budget, we shall thus compound the situation and do even greater damage to the economy and society as a whole. Furthermore, we have issued a great number of promises to the budget subsidies sectors in the previous quarters and now, in the fourth quarter, this has to be reckoned with. In a word, the situation is practically hopeless—it cuts both ways. Therefore a particular decision always has to be made in a particular situation.

[Dikun] There are two interpretations of why Gaydar returned to the government shortly before the October events. According to one, the president, in calling in Gaydar, who is like a red flag to a bull for the opposition, thus wanted to "blow up the situation." The other is that Gaydar was returned to win the democrats over to the president's side prior to the decisive events. This is a kind of a white flag. Now that the offensive has been won, there is no need for him any longer and he can be sent, for instance, to Vorkuta.

[Ulyukayev] The first version is absolutely far-fetched but there could be something behind the second one. But I would formulate it differently. Naturally, the probability of a favorable outcome of the conflict between the president, the government, and the Supreme Soviet is diminishing. Meanwhile there are not so many people in the president's entourage who could be relied on in a difficult moment. Gaydar, on the other hand, can press his way forward, which he does. Many, including the president, may disagree with him on certain matters, but in a crucial period one can firmly rely on him. I am not even talking about the way Gaydar behaved overnight on 3 to 4 October, but about the fact that at an acute political moment, during an election campaign, when promises are being handed out left and right, it is very easy to ruin the economy. Therefore there must be a person who will not allow this to happen. I am not sure that the president

consciously took all this into account when he called on Gaydar to come back, but subconsciously this factor, I think, was present.

[Dikun] Russia's Choice initially stated that it will be seeking to make Gaydar prime minister. But then this subject was closed for some reason. Is this slogan no longer relevant today, or does Chernomyrdin better correspond to the current situation?

[Ulyukayev] Russia's Choice has never abandoned the idea of its representative's heading the government. This, however, is the position of any political movement. Yet there are long-term and short-term prospects. Possibly, in the next few months it will be useful to preserve the cabinet of ministers as it exists now. Otherwise some unpleasant economic developments might arise. Furthermore, it is necessary to see first how the new parliament will work, and whether it will collaborate with the president and only then start thinking about making changes in this government. At any rate, the question of Gaydar's becoming prime minister has not been taken off the agenda.

Vorkuta Miners Back at Work

LD1012215393 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1851
GMT 10 Dec 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta (northern Russia) December 10 TASS—All pits of the Vorkuta coal field and other city enterprises resumed working from the evening shift on Friday.

The decision to suspend the strike that started on December 6, was reached today at a joint meeting of leaders of the independent miners' union and city enterprises. Earlier representatives of miners, coal consumers and government officials at a tri-partite meeting in Moscow signed an agreement guaranteeing payments for Vorkuta coal.

According to local experts, about 24 hours are needed to restore mining in full volume.

Role of New Parliament, President's Staff Viewed

Yeltsin Aide Comments

PM1012163193 Moscow *ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI* in
Russian 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Aleksey Surkov, secretary of the Control and Oversight Council under the president's administration, by Lyubov Volodina under the "Opinions" rubric; place and date not given: "We Must Learn To Find a Civilized Way Out of the Crisis"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Surkov] I do not doubt that both certain former deputies and new parliamentarians from the communists and other opposition blocs will once again attempt to make the State Duma into a Supreme Soviet mark 2. A special feature of the Supreme Soviet was that it gave a hostile reception to everything that came from the executive. If there are many such deputies, there

is a danger that they might once again start stirring up the sociopolitical situation in the country, this time through the State Duma.

But at the same time I hope that in the new parliament they will, all the same, no longer have the majority they used to have. I hope that, aside from the communists—who are promising, in Zyuganov's words, to create a "strong patriotic opposition" in parliament—many sensible people will come along who are in the mood for constructive work, state building, and lawmaking. They will be elected by Russians who are tired of endless struggle and who want to see deputies not as fighters but as creators.

In addition, mechanisms are now being drawn up for the new parliament's activity which will make it possible to enhance the deputies' responsibility. The Legislative Proposals Commission under the Russian Federation president, of which I am also a member, is drawing up the standing orders of the State Duma, which provide, in particular, for strong factional discipline. It does not deny the deputy's independence or, of course, rule out political struggle in parliament. But it places this struggle within a normal civilized framework. Battles over particular problems are inevitable, since very different interests, including opposed interests, will be represented in parliament. But the standing orders are arranged in such a way that the main work will be done in factions, interests will be coordinated before a question is submitted for general discussion, and positions which have already been worked out will be submitted to a plenary session—even if they have not been agreed upon, they will at least have been fully elucidated and clearly formulated.

Whatever ambitions individual deputies bring into parliament with them, such a formula will make it possible to bring work within the strict framework of the deputies' factional responsibility. This will also be aided by the election of half of the State Duma on party lists. I believe that election under the proportional system, from all-Russia parties and blocs, will also strengthen the traditions of federalism in parliament. A larger number of deputies will uphold not local but all-Russia interests.

In addition, the new formula of the top legislative organ, whereby the State Duma's draft laws must receive the approval of the upper chamber—the Federation Council—will discipline the deputies. More thought will have to be given to the quality of the laws and to their viability. [passage omitted]

Plans for Deputies' Work

PM1012151193 Moscow *ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA* in
Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Yevgeniy Skukin report: "Deputies Will Not Be Left Without Work"]

[Text] At a meeting at the Russian president's apparatus chaired by Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, a decision was adopted that the newly elected deputies will spend the whole month between their election

and the first session of parliament working in seven working groups: on the agenda and working organs of the two chambers; on standing orders; on determining the number and titles of the committees to be formed by the State Duma and the Federation Council; and so forth.

Journalists were told about this by Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Legislative Proposals Commission under the Russian President. He was asked a number of questions including the following: Will the traditional joint session of the two chambers be held? The draft new Constitution, he replied, envisages only three occasions when such a session would be convened: To hear messages from the Russian Federation president, messages from the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, and speeches from leaders of foreign states.

Presidential Administration's Powers Reviewed

MK1112123093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 21/23, 10-16 Dec (Signed to press 9 Dec) p 8

[Nikolay Troitskiy report: "President Implants His Staff in Parliament"]

[Text] Against the backdrop of electoral fever, a quiet document that may affect the fate of the future parliament to a much greater extent than all candidates' platforms has gone completely unnoticed. The document is entitled "The Statute on the Administration for the Management of Presidential Affairs."

There is nothing new or momentous in the emergence of yet another administration. The new bureaucratic structure, however, is visibly different from other, similar services in that it plans to manage not only "presidential affairs," but also many other things.

The newly born administration is only two weeks old. It was set up under Boris Yeltsin's directive in mid-November on the basis of three directorates of the presidential administration—financial and business, economic, and social conditions directorates. Pavel Borodin, former mayor of Yakutsk and former people's deputy, who had already served an entire year in the Kremlin administration before, was appointed administration chief.

The new chief has plenty of work to do. The Administration for the Management of Presidential Affairs has, according to its master's will, decided to overstep all departmental boundaries established for the executive branch and get down to grander matters. Namely: to bring order to administrative work and the daily life not only of the presidential staff, but also of those of the Federal Assembly and all the independent courts existing in Russia, including the Constitutional Court.

Such patronage by one ruling staff over the staffs of all other state institutions and branches of power has a precedent in our state's history. There was a time when the administration for the affairs of the CPSU Central Committee was supervising just as caringly (apparently, also for altruistic reasons) the daily life and administrative work at all Soviet offices regardless of their lines of subordinations.

The democrats proved quick learners from the communists they defeated in battle. The statute reads literally as follows: "The Administration for the Management of Presidential Affairs shall carry out the provision of financial, material-technical, and everyday consumer services to the bodies subject to servicing, ensure public catering in office buildings, create conditions for leisure time at sanatoria administered thereby, build apartment houses. The Administration shall provide staffers with motor transport, housing, food stuffs, and consumer goods."

This list of services was expanded at the beginning of December: Boris Nikolayevich additionally turned over the buildings of both chambers of the future parliament to the Administration's jurisdiction and made it responsible for their operation.

Vladimir Podoprigora, chief of staff of the as yet unelected Federal Assembly (who was also appointed to this post personally by the president) said recently that "the staff of the former Supreme Soviet was subordinated to the Supreme Soviet chairman, and this was bad," because everything depended on one man's will. The parliamentary staff of a new type will depend neither on speakers of the chambers nor on the deputies (although they may still be given some freedom in buying writing paper or staples). The parliamentary staff's entire economic and financial activity, however, will be tuned in, as bureaucrats say, to the chief of the presidential affairs administration and, hence, to the head of state himself. Evil tongues may say that the staff is once again dependent on the whims of one man. But if literally everything depends on this man all the same, what difference does it make if one more administration is added or removed?

The president and his administration can easily be understood. They cannot appoint all deputies, they will be elected, and the wrong ones may get elected as well. As for the staff, it is so easy and simple to take it under control and thus to spare oneself any upheavals. This way is apparently better for reform and democracy. The executive branch has already shown the degree of its respect for its younger legislative sister when selecting a residence for it. This has exposed the actual hierarchy of the branches of power: the presidential administration was given a huge set of buildings on Staraya Ploshchad; the government got the burnt but empty White House; the parliamentarians were sent to two buildings that are, albeit not bad, already densely populated—let them drive former residents out and fight for a place under the administrative sun.

The State Duma, however, is a sure destination for ambitious politicians who are referred to as members of Yeltsin's team and who are well aware of the importance and purpose of a staff in a struggle for power, such as Gennadiy Burbulis and Sergey Shakhrai. They will evidently try to change the Statute on the Administration for the Management of Affairs. Just as Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin corrected Sergey Filatov, chief of the presidential administration, once the latter decided to resubordinate the government staff to himself.

Further on Preparations for Parliament

MK1112104093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[I.R.-signed report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Workload To Be Ready for Deputies"]

[Text] It is yet unclear whether the deputies of the State Duma and the Federation Council will sit where they have been ordered to by presidential edict—in a set of buildings of the former CEMA and the "Mir" hotel and in the former House of the Russian Press on Bolshaya Dmitrovka Street. At any rate, the first meetings of both chambers are scheduled to be held at the former Parliament Center on Trubnaya Square. The presidential administration has not yet decided whether it will be a joint session and thus an exclusively ceremonial event or not. In the past week Sergey Filatov has already held a number of conferences on the subject of the parliament's residence and primary objectives in the inner circle of presidential lawyers and officials representing various tiers of the executive branch. The last conference, which was held on 8 December, decided to set up seven deputies' commissions to prepare materials for the first session. The commissions will start work on 20 December.

Government To Begin White House Move 13 Dec

LD1212190193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian government will start moving to the White House on the Krasnopresnenskaya Naberezhnaya already after December 13, although the repairs of the building after the October 3-4 events in Moscow is not complete, said an official of the staff of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation speaking on condition of anonymity. The first to move will be the Construction Department officials. In December-January "all the main services of the government staff" will move to the White House in accordance with the order signed by the Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin. The repairs of the White House which was damaged during the events more than two months ago is completed so far until the 11th floor. Until the end of December the building will be surrounded by a fence and the regime of passing will be very rigorous.

Former Deputies Take Yeltsin to Court

MK1012123093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 14

[Andrey Kobich report under "Former Deputies Sue Yeltsin" rubric: "The Russian Supreme Soviet Did Not Demand Death Penalty for the President"]

[Text] Yesterday a group of former people's deputies of the Russian Supreme Soviet led by Sergey Baburin and Ivan Fedoseyev filed suit in Moscow's Frunzenskiy district court against Russian President Boris Yeltsin to defend their honor and dignity. The plaintiffs demanded that the president be obligated to retract, on Ostankino Channel 1, the statement discrediting them which was promulgated in his interview with Eldar Ryazanov. The court dismissed

the suit, recommending that the Ostankino TV company be included among the codefendants.

As Ivan Fedoseyev told KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent, on 16 November 1993, in an Eldar Ryazanov program broadcast on Ostankino Channel 1, Boris Yeltsin accused the former deputies of making a decision to execute him and his family members during the October events.

Mr. Fedoseyev stated that this allegation does not correspond to reality. On the decision of the 10th Emergency Congress of People's Deputies, Article 64/1 was included in the Russia Penal Code—"On Responsibility for a Forcible Change of the Constitutional System"—which provides for the death penalty among other measures of punishment for this crime. The decision with respect to the Russia president's actions could have been made only by a court of law. According to Mr. Fedoseyev, there are verbatim records of the congress proceedings, and they may be made available to the court. He also noted that the former deputies did not include in the suit the question of compensation for moral damage because they "do not want to fritter away their case."

Aleksandr Orfenov, head of the president's press service, said that Boris Yeltsin did not say anything about the decision made by the former Supreme Soviet. The president only said that if the Russian Supreme Soviet had won in the standoff, he and his family members would have been executed. As far as Mr. Orfenov is concerned, "this does not raise any doubts."

KOMMERSANT-DAILY will return to the subject after the court has accepted the suit for consideration.

INTERFAX Interviews Prosecutor General Kazannik

PM0912193193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1502 GMT 9 Dec 93

["Exclusive" report]

[Text] Aleksey Kazannik first leaped into the public eye after renouncing his parliamentary mandate in favor of Boris Yeltsin during the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies in May of 1989. Two months ago, President Yeltsin promoted Kazannik from his post of regional prosecutor in Omsk, Western Siberia, to the rank of Russia's Prosecutor General. Below is the text of Kazannik's interview with Interfax.

IF: The hearings into the 1991 failed coup attempt in Moscow have been allowed to drag on beyond reason. Is this caused by the inherent mistakes in the present system of the administration of justice or any other factors? Isn't it likely that hearings into the parliamentary rebellion in Moscow two months ago may run into similar difficulties?

KAZANNIK: President Yeltsin was quite right when he described the proceedings into the first case as a farce. I think the description may well apply both to Prosecutor General's Office (PGO) investigations and court proceedings. The PGO had to keep an eye on political emotions, often displaying indecision and wavering. Some of its

officials were prone to breaking a professional code of silence ahead of court hearings. Publications came out revealing the secrets of preliminary investigations. These in turn led to challenges to the prosecuting officers on charges of being biased or subordinate to their superiors.

The court itself was late in appointing a second defense lawyer for the defendants when their first lawyer often took ill. Worse still, on May 18 the panel of judges, after considering the defense's challenge to prosecuting officers, made a strange, legally unfounded determination calling on parliament to help ensure the independence of state prosecutors.

Because of the ruling's apparent illegality, which might have prevented further hearings, Deputy Prosecutor General Eduard Denisov lodged a protest with Russia's High Court, which accepted it at first but later refused to consider. The former parliament had likewise refused to consider the plea and the court adjourned for almost four months. Although the defendants were released from police custody for health reasons, they continue to engage in political activity and appear at public rallies.

The PGO is taking into account the mistakes made in the previous investigations and it is most regrettable that we learn from our own rather than from other people's mistakes.

IF: What do you make of the Justice Ministry's proposal to bring the PGO and Interior Ministry under its supervision?

KAZANNIK: Susceptible as I am to other people's views, this will be a case of putting the cart before the horse. The European conference on the transformation of the prosecuting office into a body compatible with the democratic principles of justice in its resolution of May 14, 1993, warned against attempts to try to duplicate another country's prosecution system. The resolution went on to say that experience has shown how difficult it is to establish a new service even in a socially, economically, and politically stable environment, let alone at a time of political and social change. Any successful reform requires an understanding of the importance of the compatibility of the system of prosecution with the culture and history of the country, as well as of the readiness of the society in which it operates to understand its substance and purpose.

I am not at all sure if the incumbent justice minister Yuriy Kalmykov is fully aware of the compatibility of a new law enforcement system with Russia's culture and history or of the public awareness of the rule of law or the implications of such radical reforms. And no wonder. It took years before an outstanding Russian lawyer of the previous century such as Koni, surely no less wise than Kalmykov, to realize that the 1864 judicial reform was a great mistake. He accused the fathers of reforms of pouring out the baby together with the bath water.

But it will be very dangerous to try to overhaul the entire system of law enforcement at a time of rising crime and total disregard of the law. What is already there must be used to the utmost.

IF: Are you really set on reforming the PGO and the prosecuting system as a whole? If so, what changes would you like to see?

KAZANNIK: I gave instructions to work out several options for reforming the prosecuting service but linking them closely to that of other law enforcement bodies so as to come up with an optimal version in the end. Although the reform can be carried out in several stages, human rights must clearly be put ahead of all other priorities. These include the protection of the individual's rights and freedoms and rigorous observance of the law in cases of detention, treatment of detainees, and the defense of the rights and interests of those convicted. All of this must be part of the PGO's prime concern.

It is high time the prosecutors were allowed to appear in court. It is scandalous that almost half of the criminal cases are being considered in the prosecutor's absence. All prosecutors from the federal level down to the regional level must be allowed to speak out in court. But the main thing, however, is securing the individual's personal security, so that people are not afraid to walk the streets of the city, and do not fear for the safety of their loved ones.

When immediate priorities have been defined, structural reform and staff redistribution will inevitably follow.

IF: What do you make of recent reports that the toll of casualties during the siege of the Russian parliament was higher than the government-declared figure? It is rumored that most of the dead bodies were taken out of the parliament building and secretly buried outside Moscow.

KAZANNIK: True, such rumors are being spread with some reports quoting the figure of 1,500 or even higher than that. What I can say is that a special team of investigators was set up to find out about all victims of the recent rebellion. Hospitals and crematoriums have been checked throughout the country but no information has been received about people with gunshot wounds or secret burial sites. It is now known that those myths have no leg to stand on. The latest counts say that 142 were killed in the tragedy with another four dying later from their wounds, and as many as 598 people were injured.

IF: Do you often meet with Boris Yeltsin?

KAZANNIK: Not too often, but when I do, it is mostly to report about the business in hand. Incidentally, the president takes a constant interest in how laws are being enforced in cases such as the victims of the Chernobyl nuclear accident or issues involving privatization of housing or farms. I am usually asked at the end of each meeting whether I abide strictly by the law and am told to see that I always do. It is always pleasant to hear this sort of advice coming from a man as tough as Boris Yeltsin.

IF: You must be very close to Yeltsin in spirit, and no doubt the two of you are on friendly terms, which usually entails some privileges. How has your life changed since being appointed Prosecutor General?

KAZANNIK: I wouldn't describe it as a close relationship, given that I had met Yeltsin on business only on two occasions before my new appointment. Did I receive any privileges? Some reports describe me as the most valuable prosecutor while one of the papers, *Obschaya Gazeta*, suggested that huge sums of money were being spent on me and that I am driven in a special car complete with a motorcade. True, this happened while the state of emergency was in force, but I was told the rule applied to all top officials.

At the moment, I stay at a summer house outside Moscow which is so cold that I have to use a heater. But I am not irritated by trifles and can put up with this quite easily. Surely, the Prosecutor General cannot afford to live without his family or an apartment of his own, and I hope for my housing conditions to improve soon.

IF: In his first days of work as Prosecutor General, Kazannik found to his great surprise that he had been equipped with a Chaika limousine. But he was surprised even further to learn that some 57 million rubles, (about \$50,000) was spent to repair it. He ordered the car to be sold and the proceeds to be used for the needs of regional prosecuting offices.

FIS Spokeswoman Says Downsizing Mostly Complete

MK1112103093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 6

[Feliks Kryuchkov report in the "Special Services" column: "Drastic Reforms in the Foreign Intelligence Service Have Been Finalized"]

[Text] Rumors about a large-scale downsizing of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS), issued by some publications, are not receiving confirmation. Tatyana Samoylis, the FIS director's press secretary, told SEGODNYA's correspondent that indeed over two years since the FIS was spun off as a separate organization, it has undergone an extensive reorganization. Thus, the foreign-based apparatus was cut by 50 percent, the central apparatus by 40 percent, and 30 field stations abroad have been closed. This was caused by a number of reasons: first, the changed priorities of Russia's foreign policy and, second, the intention to enhance efficiency because the staff of many field stations was unjustifiably bloated. The state's economic situation has also played a role. As of now all the planned radical reforms of the FIS have been practically completed. Ms. Samoylis noted, however, that some changes in FIS structure and activities are continuing but they are related to changes in the geopolitical situation and other external factors. This is a permanent process and, according to Ms. Samoylis, there is no question about any revolutionary transformations as being suggested by certain publications.

The content of some stories in the Moscow press is amazing in its incompetence. According to the editorial office, the A Directorate (active information operations) has not stopped and could not possibly have terminated its existence. Any special service needs such a structure to

mislead the enemy, conduct "cover" operations, create the requisite image, and so forth. It is another matter that the present A Directorate has renounced uncivilized methods of action. As for the RT Directorate (territorial reconnaissance) which conducts intelligence operations on Russia's territory, it exists for the purpose of coordinating the activity of the FIS and the Security Ministry. Under the Law on the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, the FIS is forbidden to conduct operations on Russian territory. These actions are exclusively the prerogative of the Russian Security Ministry whose employees, in addition to counterintelligence actions, obtain information about the activities of foreign special services, embassy secrets, and so forth. One can argue endlessly about the moral aspects of such activities, but this is universally accepted world practice. The expansion of the FIS' own operational and technical directorate was a forced measure following its separation from the KGB as an independent entity. Because the capabilities of this FIS department were initially weaker than as part of the KGB structure, one should talk about its possible further expansion, not downsizing.

As far as the T Directorate is concerned, it has not been engaged in subversion activity but in scientific and technical intelligence work. Moreover, it is perfectly obvious that it is in Russia's interest to extend and strengthen this line of intelligence activity. As for the subversion and reconnaissance operations subdivision, it has long since ceased to exist. This is confirmed by the fact that the Vypel special division (subversion and reconnaissance actions during a "special period") has been placed fully under the jurisdiction of the Main Protection Directorate.

Yeltsin Greets Solzhenitsyn on 75th Birthday

LD1112205393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1830 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 11 December (ITAR-TASS)—President of Russia Boris Yeltsin sent a greeting today to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn on the writer's 75th birthday. A message released today by the head of state's press service says:

"Esteemed Aleksandr Isayevich!

"Time is inexorable. You are already 75 years old.

"You have had a heavy cross to bear - war, prison camps, mortal illness, exile.... But nothing could make you renounce your great mission to tell the whole world the truth—the bitter and terrible truth about your country and people. Today your appeal 'not to live a lie,' your truthful, wise, writer's words have reached every corner of our country. Now is not an easy time for her. Perhaps it is impossible to say how long Russia's recovery will take. But I believe that thanks to the people's spiritual strength, our country will once again pull through, and gain a worthy and unique place in world civilization.

"I cordially congratulate you, dear Aleksandr Isayevich, and with all my heart I wish you good health and inspiration. I wish you and your family happiness and prosperity!

"I hope to meet you soon in your native Russian land.

"Sincerely yours, B. Yeltsin

"11 December 1993"

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Signs Edicts on Pensions, Welfare Allowances

Occupational Pensions Raised

LD1112102293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0942 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] We have very good news for you now, dear listeners. Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has signed a edict on raising previously established occupational pensions. According to the edict, the amount of previously established pensions is being brought up close to the level of the pensions that are being established now. You will find out the details slightly later. All the country's news services will now receive this report from the president's press service.

Payments for Children Increased

LD1112131193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1206 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—President Yeltsin has signed a decree on improving the system of state social allowances and compensation payments to families with children, and on increasing them.

Starting from January 1, 1994, a single monthly allowance for each child will be introduced to replace previous social allowances and compensation payments: 70 per cent of minimal wages for children under six years of age, and up to 60 per cent of minimal wages for children between six and sixteen.

The amount of the allowance will be increased by 50 per cent for children of unmarried mothers, of parents who evade paying alimony on in other cases, stipulated by the law, as well as for the children of officers and men serving in the Army.

Starting from January 1, 1994, working mothers of children under a year and a half, mothers who are studying on a full-time basis or serving in the Army, or persons replacing them, who stay at home to look after the child, will received a fixed monthly allowance equal to minimal wages.

The decree will become effective from the moment it is signed and will be submitted for the consideration of the Federal Assembly, ITAR-TASS learned from the press service of the Russian president .

Gaydar Explains Edicts

LD1112153293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] "Economic and political stability is the major thing which our society needs badly now," believes Russia's first Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar.

In his interview with Interfax he underlined that the economic crisis has already passed and the most difficult time has left in the past. He pointed out that a noticeable economic upsurge can start only under provision of economic and political stability in the country.

"That is why I am greatly concerned over the fact that being tired of the everyday personal and material problems the people will believe to those who propose easy and painless solutions of the most difficult problems," stressed Gaydar, leader of the election bloc Russia's Choice.

The first vice premier reported that President Boris Yeltsin had signed several decrees to improve housing related legislation and legal acts on pensions and benefits for families.

In particular, it is a decree on indexation of wage to calculate pensions according to which pensions established before January 1, 1993 will be re-calculated. An individual factor of calculations which takes into consideration the relative level of the pensioner's wage during his work is to be used in these calculation. "Consequently, the imperfectness of the pension legislation when level of the maximum and minimum pensions appeared to be almost equal will be corrected spring-summer 1994," said Gaydar.

In addition, the president has signed a decree on family benefits which says that numerous small benefits will be replaced by one larger benefit. In particular, the benefit for children aged till 6 constitutes 70 percent of the wage's minimum level and 50 percent - for children aged 6-16, benefits for single mothers and for children of servicemen who are on an active service in the army are to be increased by 50 percent.

A decree on housing subsidies is to be signed on Saturday [11 December], said Gaydar. Their volume is to be determined by the income per capita and the number of years which have passed since the family was registered in the lists of those who need to improve their living conditions. The maximum level of housing subsidies free of charge constitutes 70 percent of the cost of the flat the people live in. A list of documents needed to receive housing subsidies is supposed to be developed and published by January 1, 1994.

The first vice premier declared that "our strategic task is to lower the tax pressure but we cannot start solving this problem just now due to a sharp situation in the social sphere."

Gaydar reported that a decision to increase incomes of individuals on whom minimum taxes are imposed are to be increased from 1 Mn to Mn rubles in 1993 and in 1994 this rate is to be increased to 5 Mn rubles.

"The government has concrete plans of work. I believe and I know that the nation is on the way to recovering," underlined Yegor Gaydar.

Further Gaydar Remarks

LD1212012993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] We have already reported that the president of the Russian Federation signed four edicts aimed at improving social protection of the population. They are decrees on raising pensions, on improving the system of state social welfare, and compensation for families with children and on raising these compensations; also a decree on regulating certain issues related to taxes imposed on individuals. Here to comment on the new decrees is Yegor Gaydar, a first deputy prime minister in the Russian Government.

[Begin recording] [Gaydar] The time for these documents has come. First, we are switching to a new system of family allowances. The present system is very complicated and involved, comprising a large number of small allowances. We are now replacing it with a much simpler system, which is much easier to understand. The allowance simply depends on the age of the child—say, 70 percent of the minimum wage for a child under six, 60 percent of the same for a child under 16. This is amended in accordance with particular needs of families. For instance, it is higher for families [words indistinct].

As for pensions, the issue of updating the system has existed for a long time. Here too, if you look at the decree, we are not promising any miracles, we just intend to gradually eliminate the very hard [words indistinct]. Many people who used to receive maximum pensions just five years ago are now receiving the minimum or pensions close to the minimum. We are not promising any miracles, and it will not take effect on 1 January because of all the funds that have to be mobilized; but as funds are being found, starting 1 April for certain categories and until 1 June, we shall take measures aimed at restoring normal differentiation of pensions.

As for pensions for those who worked during the Great Patriotic War, this is a very old problem. Most of the people who worked during the war cannot obtain pensions—I mean in addition to the regular pensions—because of huge difficulties involved in filing necessary documents. Therefore, in order to save people from huge amounts of paperwork, we have decided to introduce those additions for all those eligible under appropriate categories.

It is a question of the government finding necessary funds, taking measures aimed at cutting state spending, and at the same time, as the funds are being found, trying to target them toward solving those problems that we consider to be the most acute, the most painful in social terms.

[Unidentified correspondent] Yegor Timurovich, the decree on regulating certain issues related to taxes imposed

on individuals—this concerns every one of us, and everyone expects changes in the system of taxation. What does the decree envisage?

[Gaydar] Well, let's see what the most significant points are, those that really affect people. There is a change in the floor from which progression begins. We have reviewed it, taking into account the existing structures of incomes, and now the floor from which progression begins is 3 million rubles a year instead of 1 million. So the tax on all income in excess of 3 million is 20 rather than 12 percent. And for 1994, we have set the progression floor at 5 million—also taking into account the realities of 1994. These are the most serious changes. There are also several quite significant individual changes. But in the end the government rejected the idea of raising the ceiling of income tax from 30 to 40 percent—primarily because we believe that such an increase in progression would objectively result in increased tax evasion, so that there would be no additional revenue to the budget. After all, our first priority is to establish strict tax discipline.

[Correspondent] Yegor Timurovich, there have been quite a few social benefits for various groups of the population. But the state of the country's economy is quite poor. Can it be that we are giving promises today only to abolish all these benefits as early as next year?

[Gaydar] Whether social promises are delivered depends on the degree in which we succeed in creating a real financial basis for them. Let me remind you that in the past two months we have eliminated a whole range of important factors that used to impose financial strain on the budget. We have abandoned preferential-term loans, which cost us substantially more than family allowances for a whole quarter; we have abandoned import subsidies—this was also an enormous strain on the budget, incomparable with such things as spending on pensions for war veterans. We have cut down sharply on the amount of subsidies in many areas, including grain subsidies. This allows us to find quite modest, I stress once again but still quite real funds, which enable us to solve the most burning social problems. Therefore, if we do not stray from this course, if we do not let ourselves be drawn again into large-scale subsidizing of loss-making production, then we'll be able to proceed gradually, expanding, step by step, social welfare for the people. [end recording]

Gaydar Interviewed on Government Activities, Policy

LD1012205393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1505 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by Tatyana Chernodanova; place not given; from the "Panorama" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Chernodanova] Yegor Timurovich, all the people in Russia, without any exaggeration, are interested in the work of the government, since the prosperity of each of us depends on it.

Our editorial office has received many telephone calls and letters, which include words of support for the government, which has to work in difficult circumstances. At the same time the view has been expressed that the government should be radically changed. That is why our listeners would be grateful to hear your opinion on the air, the opinion of the first deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, and for the opportunity to put questions that are worrying them directly to you. [passage omitted]

Did you have to assess the situation in the country by first resigning and then making a comeback?

[Gaydar] You see, first I would like to say here that there have been no radical changes in the policy that we are implementing and in the way we implemented it during the past year. In 1992 we were forced to begin the reforms in a very risky situation within the framework of very limited political opportunities, and we tried to pursue a course as consistent as was possible. [passage indistinct]

In 1993 it became quite obvious just how tough the political struggle would be concerning the government's course, how serious the forces are that have become involved in the struggle, and how serious was the interest in whether we would be able to consolidate our positions and to make the Russian economy dynamic and growing, or whether chaos and disorder will continue to grow in Russia.

Once one has embarked on such a course of action one must not waver. This is not an issue of a personal choice; this is an issue of responsibility for what is taking place in the country. In my opinion, the main strategic issue Russia is facing—and what the success or failure of our work depends on—is in preventing fascism coming to power in our country, preserving democracy and freedom in Russia. [passage omitted]

A sick society which is going through a difficult process of a socioeconomic transformation, the rapidly changing conditions and the instability is just the right atmosphere for political adventurists. For people who are ready to build their propaganda on three solid foundations: The more lies there are, the more people are ready to believe in them; promise everyone what they want to hear; and find an enemy and promise that you will make life hard for him.

These simple but at the same time effective propaganda weapons are fully efficient in such unhealthy societies. In my opinion, we have today a tough historical alternative. We have to prove that we are able to make the Russian market economy stable and dynamically growing, or it will become an economy with a growing problem of poverty, an economy in which authoritarian decisions will sooner or later become the reality. [passage omitted]

Two very simple tasks should be carried out in the economy: The creation of a low inflationary and growing economy and the implementation an effective social policy. [passage omitted]

[Chemodanova] What opportunities does the new draft constitution provide for the activities of the government of any kind of composition? What new responsibilities does it imply?

[Gaydar] In my view the main thing the draft constitution gives, not just to the government but simply to Russia, is order and predictability. [passage omitted] In short, the draft constitution provides order, stability and predictability. This is the minimum precondition for some kind of economic stability and financial recovery.

If the constitution is not adopted then we will get the instability in which it will be very difficult for the government to work and to be responsible for anything. In a way some might very much like this kind of situation. One would have the wonderful opportunity to blame others for not fulfilling a task. In my opinion such an easy-going position is simply irresponsible. [passage omitted including indistinct passage]

Let us look at agrarian issues. The situation that has evolved here is very complicated. This includes the serious mistakes that were made in 1993, in particular, the maintaining of the policy of obligatory purchases of agricultural produce [passage indistinct]. We will abolish the obligatory purchasing of agricultural produce beginning 1994. A decree on the demonopolization of the grain market will be issued soon. We will abolish the monopoly of Russian grain products. We are going over to very limited purchases for federal needs and a normal system of grain trade, regulated by the market.

Another important course of action will be taken, i.e., the opening of our own grain market. We accumulated a serious surplus in many types of agricultural produce by November, which the producers could not export simply because of quotas, licenses and prohibitive export tariffs. Now this has been mostly done away with, and this has allowed our producers to enter alternative markets which do not depend on the state. Additional measures which are going to be taken might include the introduction of small-in-volume customs taxation on competitive imported agricultural produce. This will protect our producers of agricultural goods. [passage omitted]

Edict Grants Tax Exemptions for Election Contributions

PM/312152393 Moscow, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 5

[Editor No. 2149 of the Russian president "On Certain Special Features of Taxation During the 1993 Election Campaign and the Nationwide Ballot on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation," issued in Moscow on 7 December and signed by President Boris Yeltsin]

[Text] With a view to facilitating the 1993 election campaign and the nationwide ballot on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation, in accordance with Points 2 and 3 of the Russian president's Edict No. 1593 of 7 October

1993 "On Legal Regulation During the Period of Stage-By-Stage Constitution Reform in the Russian Federation" I decree that:

1. It shall be established that

a) The following property is not taxable:

The property of the Central Electoral Commission [CEC], district electoral commissions, and precinct electoral commissions—as soon as they are formed and until the expiry of their powers in accordance with prescribed procedure;

The property of electoral associations—as soon as they are registered by the CEC and until the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly decide on the procedure for using the unexpended money from electoral associations' and candidates' electoral funds once the election campaign is over;

b) The following shall be reduced by the amount assigned in voluntary donations to the electoral funds of candidates for the Federation Council and State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly and also to the funds of registered electoral associations:

Taxable profit—when calculating tax on enterprises' and organizations' profits. However, the total amount of non-taxable voluntary donations cannot exceed by more than a factor of 20,000 the minimum monthly wage fixed by law;

Overall taxable income received in 1993—when calculating individuals' income tax. However, the total amount of nontaxable voluntary donations cannot exceed by more than a factor of 30 the minimum monthly wage fixed by law;

c) The overall taxable income of electoral commission members who carry out their activity on these commissions on a nonpermanent basis, candidates for the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, and other persons does not include the money of electoral commissions and candidate deputies' and electoral associations' electoral funds that is received, spent, and accounted for [uchtenyy] in accordance with prescribed procedure. However, mandatory payments to state extrabudgetary funds are not made from the above sums.

2. The operation of this edict extends to relationships that have arisen since 29 September 1993.

3. This edict comes into force as soon as it is published.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 7 December 1993

Edict Allows Interior Ministry To Fix Pay Rates

LD1112151293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's Internal Affairs Ministry has been granted the right to fix, from 1 January 1994, the amount of pay

and additional kinds of allowances for individual categories of internal affairs staff members. An edict to this effect was signed today by Russia's president.

Edict Changes Currency Payments System for Gold Producers

PM1312095393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 5

[Edict No. 2014 of the Russian president "On the Partial Amendment of the RSFSR President's Edict No. 214 of 15 November 1991 'On the Extraction and Use of Precious Metals and Diamonds on the Territory of the RSFSR,'" issued in Moscow on 29 November and signed by President Boris Yeltsin]

[Text] For the purpose of creating the conditions for increasing the extraction of gold and silver and developing the mining industry, I decree

In partial amendment of point five of the RSFSR President's Edict of 15 November 1991 "On the Extraction and Use of Precious Metals and Diamonds on the Territory of the RSFSR," to allow payment for up to 40 percent of gold extracted to be made to mining enterprises in freely convertible currency on condition that these funds are used to redeem the foreign currency investment credits attracted to open up and develop gold and silver deposits and pay dividends to foreign investors.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation
[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 29 November 1993
Edict No. 2014

Yeltsin Issues Edict on Financial-Industrial Groups

PM1312121793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 5

[Edict No. 2096 of the Russian president "On the Creation of Financial-Industrial Groups in the Russian Federation," issued in Moscow on 5 December and signed by President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] For the purposes of ensuring the structural transformation of the Russian economy, accelerating scientific and technical progress, increasing the export potential and competitiveness of Russian enterprises, enhancing the management [povysheniye upravlyayemosti] of the national economy, and pursuing an active industrial policy in conditions of privatization, I decree:

1. Ratification of the attached Statute on Financial-Industrial Groups and the Procedure for Their Creation.

2. The Russian Federation State Committee for Industrial Policy and the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property are within three months to present to the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation at least two experimental drafts for the creation of financial-industrial groups in line with the Statute on Financial-Industrial Groups and the Procedure for Their Creation.

3. That the drafts for the creation of financial-industrial groups which are to be submitted for examination by the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation be subjected to preliminary expert analysis to be conducted by the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy, the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance, and the Russian Federation State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and Support for the New Economic Structures.

4. That state incentives for the creation and activity of financial-industrial groups may envisage the implementation of the following measures in line with Russian Federation legislation:

transfer of the blocs of shares in enterprises belonging to a financial-industrial group and provisionally held by the state into the commercial or proxy management of the financial-industrial group or a member of it which satisfy the requirements of Point 1 of Article 9 of the Russian Federation Law "On the privatization of state and municipal enterprises in the Russian Federation" [peredachu v kommercheskoye ili doveritelnoye upravleniye finansovo-promyshlennoy gruppe ili yeye uchastniku, udovletvoryayushchim trebovaniyam punkta 1 stati 9 Zakona Rossiyskoy Federatsii "O privatizatsii gosudarstvennykh i munitsipalnykh predpriyatiy v Rossiyskoy Federatsii", vremennno zakreplennykh za gosudarstvom paketov aktsiy predpriyatiy-uchastnikov finansovo-promyshlennoy gruppy];

the offsetting of the debt of an enterprise whose shares are being sold at investment contests (tenders) in the volume of investments envisaged by the terms of the investment contests (tender) for the purchasing financial-industrial group;

the provision of state guarantees to attract different types of investment resources, including use of the security mechanism.

5. Ministries and departments of the Russian Federation and organs of executive power of the republics within the Russian Federation and in the krais, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg must give the necessary assistance in the creation of financial-industrial groups within the privatization process.

6. The Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations together with the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property, the Russian Federation State Committee for Industrial Policy, the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy, the Russian Federation Finance Ministry, and the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development shall within four months submit to the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation proposals on a mechanism for converting [konvertatsiya] the debt of enterprises and the state debt during the creation of financial-industrial groups within the framework of intergovernmental agreements with foreign states.

7. The Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation shall ratify the procedure for maintaining a Register of Financial-Industrial Groups of the Russian Federation.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow 5 December 1993

No. 2096

ITAR-TASS Carries 'Text' of Yeltsin Land Edict

LD1212163393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2126 GMT 11 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Dec—An edict of the Russian Federation president, "On a State Land Register and Registration of Documents on Rights to Real Estate" has been submitted for publication on 12 December. The text follows below:

For the purposes of establishing and protecting rights to plots of land and to real estate bound with plots of land and of creating an effective system of payments for land and carrying out state regulation of operations involving land and real property, I decree:

1. It is prescribed that the state land register, the registration and drawing up of documents on rights to plots of land and real estate bound to these shall be conducted in accordance with a single system throughout the territory of the Russian Federation and shall form the basis for creating an effective system of payments for land, for regulating all operations involving land, and for protecting the rights to plots of land and to real estate bound to those plots of land.

2. The Russian Federation Committee for Land Resources and Land Management and its territorial bodies in the localities shall be charged with organizing the holding of the state land register and with the registration and drawing up of documents on the rights to plots of land and real estate bound to these.

3. The Russian Federation Committee for Land Resources and Land Management and the Russian Federation State Committee for Management of State Property, in conjunction with the State and Law Department of the President of the Russian Federation, is within one month to submit: a draft provision on a land book and the procedure for operating it; and a draft edict of the president of the Russian Federation on a commission under the president of the Russian Federation on real estate issues and on proposals for setting up a single state system of registering real estate.

4. The present edict comes into force at the time it is published.

Edict Orders Taxation of Land Sales

PM1312155393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 5

[Edict No. 2118 of the Russian president "On Taxation of the Sale of Plots of Land and Other Operations Involving Land," issued in Moscow on 7 December and signed by President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] With a view to regulating taxation on the sale of plots of land and other operations involving land until a Russian Federation law is adopted regulating taxation on these operations, and in accordance with Points 2 and 3 of the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1598 of 7 October 1993 "On Legal Regulation During the Period of Stage-By-Stage Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation" I decree that:

1. It shall be established that, on the conclusion of a contract of sale, citizens selling a plot or piece of land pay tax in accordance with the Russian Federation Law "On Income Tax from Physical Persons." Corporate entities pay tax in accordance with the Russian Federation Law "On Tax on Enterprises' and Organizations' Profits."

If a plot of land is inherited or gifted it is taxed in accordance with the Russian Federation Law "On Tax on Inherited or Gifted Property."

2. The Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation shall prepare in the first quarter of 1994 a draft Russian Federation law regulating taxation on the sale of plots of land and other operations involving land.

3. This edict shall be submitted for the consideration of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation.

4. This edict comes into force as soon as it is published.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 7 December 1993

Government Issues 'Appeal' to Fuel, Energy Workers

LD1112160993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1521 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—The press service of the Russian Government circulated an appeal to the workers of the fuel and energy complex on Saturday [11 December] which was issued by the press centre of the Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering.

The appeal said that "today the fuel and energy complex of Russia is going through, perhaps, the most difficult period of its development in the past years: Output is decreasing, non-payments are piling up at a gigantic rate, vital investment programmes are being curtailed, the social situation has grown tense. The most difficult situation is in coal producing regions."

The Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering of the Russian Federation together with the Government of the Russian Federation are taking all possible measures. A cardinal solution to the problem lies in purposeful gradual

work aimed at stabilising and developing all branches of the fuel and energy complex.

"To realise the proposed strategy, a proper legal basis should be created. The work on it had been considerably hampered by the former Supreme Soviet. In conditions of gradual constitutional reform the Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering of the Russian Federation and fuel and energy companies have managed to achieve some progress in this direction. In particular, on December 6, 1993 the government approved the draft of the federal purpose-oriented programme 'fuel and energy,' the implementation of which will be vital not only for the fuel and energy complex itself, but also for the entire Russian economy," the appeal said.

It also stressed that "no one else but we have to solve our problems. They can be solved only jointly through a constructive dialogue, not ultimatums."

Commission Examines 'Crisis'

PM1312125593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Leskov: "Consumer Anarchy Has Brought Oil Extracting Enterprises to Verge of Bankruptcy"]

[Text] The recent session of the Commission for Topical Issues of the Management of the National Economy has examined the serious crisis in the oil industry, which has arisen primarily because of the drastic deterioration of the financial position of the sector's enterprises.

At the start of the year it seemed that the oil industry had managed to overcome a protracted slump. In the first quarter, for the first time in several years, the level of oil extraction was successfully stabilized and in April it was even believed that by the end of the year an additional 10 million tonnes of oil would have been extracted. But later financial discipline declined drastically and consumers realized that nothing threatened them for violating the terms of their contracts.

Consumers' nonpayments for oil have increased fivefold since the start of the year and reached 2 trillion rubles [R] out of R9 trillion for the fuel and energy complex as a whole. But even the money which the enterprises are still receiving is being confiscated almost entirely for the budget. Taxes now account for 60 percent of the price of oil. Here the increase in the price for oil lags considerably behind the rate of inflation in the country. In October oil prices increased 11 percent compared with August, yet prices for equipment for the sector's enterprises increased 44 percent. And the result is that the very large "Nizhnevartovskneftegaz" and "Noyabrskneftegaz" associations have raised the question of curtailing work and reducing personnel by two-thirds. In all several thousand boreholes could be brought to a standstill in the sector.

In this situation the halting of oil exports from Russia, which for a long time were the main source of currency revenue for the state coffers, becomes increasingly feasible.

That is borne out by the base schedule for the extraction of Russian oil, which is now being examined in the top offices and which IZVESTIYA has managed to obtain. In 1993 the figure will be 340 million tonnes, in 1994 it will be 313 (or even 300) million, in 1995 it will be 297 million (260 million is not out of the question). Here exports become burdensome for enterprises since the Finance Ministry confiscates virtually all currency revenue for the state coffers.

It has become clear that because of the lack of the necessary funds, the energy resources saving program which the Ministry of Fuel and Energy had zealously promoted will not be implemented. In this situation virtually the only way of easing the crisis is another increase in oil prices. The Ministry of the Economy believes that by the end of the year the price for oil not counting excise and value-added tax will reach 170,000 rubles a tonne. Problems of oil extraction in Russia are of such a global nature that the interdepartmental working group created at the last session of the government committee will hardly be able to stabilize the situation in the sector in the foreseeable future.

Fedorov Sees 'Stabilization' of Ruble Exchange Rate

PM1012131593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 1

[Igor Petrov report: "Ruble Becoming Stronger. Finance Minister Predicts Stabilization of National Currency"]

[Text] "The Russian Government is not trying to bring down the dollar-ruble exchange rate at any price," Finance Minister Boris Fedorov said during a conversation with your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent. "We are planning to receive hundreds of millions of dollars by the end of the year, and if they were put onto the money market the dollar exchange rate could fall to 500 rubles [R]."

According to Fedorov, the Ministry of Finance sees its main task as smoothing out fluctuations in the exchange rate. No one today is able to control currency rates because the money market itself has grown and expanded considerably. The daily turnover of hard-currency sales tops the former monthly figures.

At the same time, in our country the gap between the market dollar rate and the parity of its purchasing power is closing rapidly. The inefficiency of a huge number of Russian exporters is therefore coming to light. But maintaining Russian exports via a low ruble exchange rate is illusory insofar as every item of output that goes abroad at an understated price is nothing other than looting Russia.

The finance minister predicts that the dollar exchange rate will slowly rise toward the end of the year along with inflation to reach around R1,250 to the dollar. As for the longer term, Fedorov stressed that, if prices at best only treble in 1994, then with a fairly tough credit and monetary policy the rate may stay at R2,000 to the dollar. "Of course, this can only happen if Zhirinovskiy or Zyuganov are not victorious in the parliamentary elections," the finance minister emphasized.

Boris Fedorov did not rule out the possibility of a reduction next year in Central Bank credit rates. The only reason for this could be a fall in the rate of inflation.

"If today's Central Bank credit interest rate rises to 14 percent a month but inflation drops to 12-13 percent, I see nothing to prevent the interest rate falling," Fedorov said.

At the same time the finance minister stressed that it is still premature to speak of a need to take this step, since it is hard to judge an emerging trend from one month's inflation figures (15 percent in November, the minister estimates). In October, for instance, inflation exceeded 20 percent.

Industrial Policy Council Chief Interviewed

PM1312100993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 5

[Interview with Mikhail Yuryev, president of the "Interprom" industrial group, by Valeriy Zenkov; place and date not given: "Will We Have Our Own 'Mitsubishi?'"]

[Text] The Russian Council of Ministers Council for Industrial Policy created a year ago was recently renamed the Russian Council of Ministers Council for Industry and Entrepreneurship.

The council with its new staff has submitted to the government a package of proposals on industrial policy.

We asked the council's chairman, Mikhail Yuryev, president of the "Interprom" industrial group, to describe the main avenues of the industrial policy of the government and financial-industrial groups.

[Yuryev] We see two avenues in economic policy. The first is state support for integration processes in industry. It is planned to create financial-industrial groups, that is to restructure our industry and organize a considerable number of very large corporations.

If we take our enterprises, even the biggest, calculate their annual production volume in rubles and then recalculate it in dollars, then at best they will be able to compete only with medium enterprises of the developed capitalist countries. For that reason they cannot conduct serious scientific research and experimental design work, create reserves, or invest in related industries. Nor are they capable of substantial diversification that is the expansion of their products mix. In this connection we plan to create several dozen large multiprofile corporations with multibillion (dollar) production volumes similar to Korea's "Hyundai," Japan's "Mitsubishi," and the United States' "General Motors."

We believe that when creating financial-industrial groups the state's active support is essential although the groups themselves should not be state groups. Their shares should be sold to the population, including for vouchers. These shares in our view will be far more attractive than those of ordinary enterprises. It is true that the State Committee for the Administration of State Property has its own view of this. It believes that the financial-industrial groups should

be created exclusively on initiative from below. We do not welcome this bias toward "superliberalism" and believe that even in an entirely private economy the state should pursue an active policy.

The second subject for the council's priority attention is the creation of a comprehensive system for backing up industrial enterprises with commercial investment credits. Today Russian entrepreneurs lack the opportunity for normal investment credits because of the high inflation rate. Tell me, is it possible to conceive of the 210 percent per annum interest rate which our "monetarists" consider is still not high enough? That is madness for industrialists! Yet enterprises want to take and can take credits at 12-18 percent in currency (that, incidentally, is twice as high as abroad). But for this we must increase our banks' currency resources, for instance stop placing the Central Bank's currency reserves abroad and start placing them in Russian banks.

[Zenkov] In your view, why is the government not managing to link the interests of commercial banks and industry?

[Yuryev] Unfortunately, for quite a long time the dominant view in the government was that it was possible to make do with macromeasures, that is to stabilize finances and create good laws. Incidentally, this aim has still not been achieved. All these measures can be compared with weeding a field. Yet in addition the field must be plowed and then sown. We must not forget here to apply fertilizer and it would be a good idea to organize the irrigation of some crops.... Fortunately the ice has broken. Today a different viewpoint is gradually gaining the upper hand. The government understands that we must conduct painstaking work, including work to encourage the influx of investments.

[Zenkov] A proposal was born in the depths of the Finances Ministry for increasing value-added tax in the new year. How do you assess this step? After all only recently value-added tax was reduced at the initiative of the same government.

[Yuryev] It's bad! No one will dispute that the budget must be stabilized. But not at any price! In no circumstances must we raise tax! Is there a way out? Of course there is. It is well known. It is known throughout the world. First we must reduce expenditure. How can this be done? Here is my reply: We must if not abolish then radically reduce expenditure on agriculture. This expenditure is the largest part of the budget. Subsidies to the countryside in my view are absolutely unnecessary. Collective and start farms can live comfortably if, for instance, they sell part of their land or mortgage it to the bank. Incidentally, it was possible to mortgage land to the bank even before the well known edict on the land, but agricultural producers virtually never did this.

It is also possible to increase the revenue side of the budget by selling land for money. So far it is being issued free of charge. There is also some point in increasing the tax on enterprises which use natural resources.

In conclusion I shall say that many of our council's proposals do not arise out of nowhere. We receive many letters in which there is much that is feasible and sensible. The council for industrial policy will, I hope, make it possible to set up living dialogue between the government and industrial-financial circles and will help the government to correct its policy promptly and sensible.

Minister Melikyan Views Cabinet Taxation Debate
PM1312145393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1,4

[Aleksandr Golyayev report: "The Debts Are High. But the Taxes, It Seems, Will Come Down"]

[Text] At the routine session of the Council of Ministers Presidium, First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets noted that the elections and the referendum on the new constitution will be held against the background of the country's difficult economic situation. However, the results of the first 11 months of the year show that stability has been noted in a section of industrial production. The main problem today is undoubtedly the crisis of nonpayments. Enterprises' debts have passed the 16 trillion ruble [R] mark, which means that buying and selling have become impossible. Some of the state's commitments, especially as regards the defense order, are not being fulfilled. By all accounts, however, these debts will not go away—they are being switched to next year. Decisions on this question must be adopted in the light of the growth of inflation and international commitments. Meanwhile, the crisis cannot be surmounted without vigorous antimonopoly activity. This is one of the main methods of creating competition.

A keen debate has been triggered by the draft Edict on Taxes on Individuals. Eventually it was largely approved. Labor Minister Gennadiy Melikyan commented on it thus:

"The draft improves the system of taxing individual incomes. It is planned to increase the rate of tax on very high incomes—that is correct. Admittedly here, I think, it is necessary to differentiate between individual citizens and corporate entities. The latter must be given concessions.

"There was a proposal to use the salary rate of the prime minister or president as the basis, calculate the total income received for the year, and take the very minimum—12 percent—from that total. On average that would produce a little over 2 million. There is another option: To take 3 million as the 'minimum.' The first option seems more sensible to me. Concessions can be made retroactively but a tightening of taxation legislation cannot."

"There was a dispute over individual labor activity, too," I asked the minister.

[Melikyan] I believe that taxation of this sector in our country was not worked out well at all and is ineffective. Even the most law-abiding citizens who want to register officially and work cannot do so under the existing rules. The taxation scale puts them in an unfavorable position compared with other citizens. Yet private operators bear

tremendous costs which they cannot prove because raw materials are obtained by all manner of means. We have spoken specially with such people; they were all evading tax because it turns out that if you work honestly there will be no income left and thus no incentive to work for yourself. The system here must be changed otherwise we will put such people in very difficult conditions from the outset.

[Golyayev] There has been much talk about exempting from taxation citizens' resources used to buy housing, a dacha, a cottage, and so forth. What is your view?

[Melikyan] These resources must not be subjected to taxation. Of course, the blow has been aimed at the "millionaires" who are building luxurious palaces. Then let us set a limit. Work out, for example, how much a two-room apartment is worth and exempt citizens from taxation below that figure. But if you build yourself a castle, I'm sorry but....

People must be given an opportunity to invest their resources in housing construction. That will be an incentive to people to earn money and repay a preferential credit to the state. Housing must serve as the engine of the economy.

The most acute question, Melikyan continued, arose over the rate of tax on income in the form of bank account interest. On the one hand this is income received from capital, not from labor and in principle the rate should be high. That is what happens in many countries in the West, but.... In our country today the interest which people receive from funds invested with the savings bank is below the rate of inflation. To impose an additional rate of tax is inadvisable. If we do that we will make citizens think that they should not keep their money in the bank but should convert it into foreign currency and "hide it under the bed." Money must be made to work, it must not be left idle. [Melikyan ends]

On Oleg Soskovets' insistence the draft edict is to be reworked as soon as possible and sent on to the president for ratification.

Soskovets Urges Clear Government Agrarian Policy

PM1312144593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by First Deputy Premier Oleg Soskovets article under the "Economics" rubric: "High Technologies Are the Locomotives of Reforms"]

[Text] Probably not everyone will agree with me, but I think that the scientific and technological potential of present-day Russia meets world standards in all the main areas. I am talking primarily about the potential accumulated in the military-industrial complex, potential which up to now we have used with very little imagination.

Where should the efforts of military-industrial complex employees be directed?

Toward the development of new agricultural equipment and major processing enterprises in the agro-industrial complex based on new technologies, including those in the food industry sphere. But in order to do this the government should in turn formulate a clear and unambiguous agrarian policy. Unless we make fundamental decisions about what we want to see happen in the countryside, about how relations between manufacturers and peasants should be built, and what state support the agrarian sector can rely on, we will constantly be forced to pour enormous resources into this sphere in a haphazard fashion without getting any significant return.

As far as industry is concerned, I would call metallurgy and machine-building the key sectors with the capacity to act as the primarily locomotive of reforms. Conversion of defense enterprises should also be aimed at the renewal of these sectors. In implementing this conversion, we should always remember to maintain production of high-technology products. Only this will enable Russia to maintain its position among the industrially developed countries.

Decree Issued on Support for Agro-Industrial Complex

PM1312115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p5

[Decree No. 1186 of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government "On Measures by the State to Support the Agro-Industrial Complex in 1993-94," issued in Moscow on 18 November and signed by V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government]

[Text] With the object of increasing state support for the agro-industrial complex in order to overcome the consequences of the unfavorable weather conditions in 1993 and to ensure sustained agricultural work in 1994, in line with Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 1767 of 27 October 1993 "On Regulating Land Relations and Developing Agrarian Reform in Russia," the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government hereby decrees:

1. The Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall:

ensure maximum clearance of liabilities relating to financing of the agro-industrial complex by the end of 1993;

find, together with the Russian Federation Central Bank, the necessary financial and credit resources to clear procurement agents' debts for grain and oil-bearing crop seeds supplied to the state by agricultural producers in 1993.

2. The Russian Federation Central Bank, the Russian Federation Ministry of Agriculture, and the Russian Republic Agricultural Bank shall extend to 1 December 1994 the deadline for repaying centralized credit resources allocated in 1993 to agricultural producers whose farms were subject to natural disasters and unfavorable weather and climate conditions, distributing them among republics in the Russian Federation, krais, oblasts, and autonomous formations in line with the appendix.

3. In the fourth quarter of 1993 and the first six months of 1994, compensation shall be paid to agricultural producers whose farms were subject to drought and other natural disasters in 1993; this compensation shall be taken from the Russian Federation's republic budget and cover 50 percent of the cost of transporting feed from other farms.

The Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall incorporate the necessary resources for the above aims in the Russian Federation's republic budget for 1994.

4. The following budget-financed measures of state support for agricultural producers shall be maintained in 1994:

Subsidies for livestock products supplied to federal and regional funds;

Subsidies to support the breeding of pedigree livestock and poultry and the growing of selected seeds;

Compensation for part of the cost of maintaining facilities in the social infrastructure of rural areas, including the heating of residential buildings on the books of collective and state farms and other agricultural enterprises;

State support for private farms.

Measures to support selected seed growing shall be extended to the production of hybrid corn, sunflower, and sugar beet seeds.

The Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall provide for 500 billion rubles [R] in the Russian Federation's draft republic budget for 1994 in order to subsidize part of the credit used by agricultural producers to acquire highly productive machinery and equipment and introduce efficient technology, stipulating the procedure for utilizing the aforementioned resources.

5. Taking into account proposals by the Russian Federation Ministry of Agriculture, the Russian Federation Committee for the Food and Processing Industry, the Russian Federation Fisheries Committee, and the "Roskhlleprodukt" joint-stock company, the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics and the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall provide for the means to finance state capital investments in the development of agricultural science and the implementation of specially targeted federal programs.

6. The Russian Federation Ministry of Economics and the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall provide for the allocation of investment credits to build production facilities in agriculture, and also in the food and processing industry.

7. Together with the Russian Association of Peasant (Private) Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives, the Russian Federation Ministry of Agriculture and the Russian State Insurance Company shall prepare and submit within two months to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government a draft decree on compulsory agricultural insurance, with part of the insurance premiums to be compensated from the Russian Federation's republic budget.

8. Together with the "Roskhlleprodukt" joint-stock company, the Russian Federation Ministry of Agriculture shall submit to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government proposals on the timescale for farms hit by natural disasters in 1993 to repay seed and feed loans obtained in 1992 and 1993.

9. It shall be recommended that administrative bodies of republics in the Russian Federation, krais, oblasts, and autonomous formations examine—taking into account the financial state of farms suffering for the second time from unfavorable weather and climate conditions in 1993—the question of writing off by means of regional budget resources the interest-free budget loan allocated to territories in line with Russian Federation Government Decree No. 789 of 14 October 1992, bearing in mind that there has been mutual reckoning between republic and regional budgets in relation to the aforementioned loans.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government

[Dated] 18 November 1993

Note: Printed without appendix.

Media Issues

Yeltsin Edict Suspends Legislation on Media

PM1312095193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 5

[Edict No. 2093 of the Russian president "On Measures To Protect the Freedom of the Mass Media in the Russian Federation" issued on 5 December and signed by President Boris Yeltsin]

[Text] For the purpose of protecting the freedom of the mass media and preventing the creation and financing of organizations, institutions, organs, or posts whose tasks or functions include censorship, and on the basis of the Russian Federation President's Edict No. 1598 of 7 October 1993 "On Legal Regulation in the Period of Phased Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation," I DECREE that:

1. The decree of the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies of 29 March 1993 "On Measures to Ensure Freedom of Speech and in State Television and Radio Broadcasting and in the Information Services" and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees "On the Federal Council for Ensuring Freedom of Speech in State Television and Radio Broadcasting" dated 15 July 1993 and "On the Privatization of State Publishing Houses, Publishing and Printing Complexes, and Printing Presses" dated 23 July 1993 are suspended pending the adoption of appropriate decisions by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

2. Before 10 January 1994 the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation is to submit proposals on improving Russian Federation legislation on the mass media.

3. The present edict shall be submitted for examination by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

4. The present edict shall enter into force from the day of its signing.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the the Russian Federation.

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 5 December 1993

Edict No. 2093

Poltoranin Interviewed on Political Situation, Media

PM1012164193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Press and Information Minister Mikhail Poltoranin by Vladimir Mamontov and Igor Chernyak; place and date not given: "Mikhail Poltoranin: Many of Russia's Troubles Stem From Authority's Unscrupulousness"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Mikhail Niki-forovich, do you yourself believe in the independence of the press?

[Poltoranin] I am in favor of creating an independent mass media corporation, having gotten away from the current situation with the newspapers and television. To do this a draft presidential edict has just been prepared so that when destatization occurs the press and television obtain ownership. We will be not be able to do anything without ownership. For instance, had your "Pressa" Publishing House been a journalistic one, we would always have found room for maneuver and attracted investment.... But this does not mean that in a corporation we would go into a huddle and work as a united team: Every newspaper has come out and would come out to propagate its own ideology, but in an economically protected way. And that means politically protected too.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] An attractive idea, of course. But will publishing house directors be pleased about it?

[Poltoranin] Of course not, because they are sitting on ownership. But actually we do not have many of them. Tens of millions of people have created this property by their intellectual labor. Why should they stay on the sidelines?

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] On the question of the owner: What is going to happen to television's Channel Eight? A strange situation: First of all the president's edict came out, then it was suddenly revoked. There are rumors that you were the one who rescinded the president's edict....

[Poltoranin] The edict was not rescinded, the edict was suspended. This is because the draft of this edict was prepared in secret.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Prepared by whom?

[Poltoranin] The "Most" group and its lobbyists. Evidently the "Most" group is in a terrible financial state and is bluffing: It is attracting journalists and promising many things. But in order to rectify the situation they need airtime. They are expecting to obtain monopoly ownership of Channel Four at knockdown state prices and to sell it at commercial prices, thereby pocketing millions of dollars.

I refused to sign this edict, although it had been signed by Poptsov, Shumeyko, and Chernomyrdin. In my view this edict takes Channel Four from one—state—monopoly to another—a private bank's. We have a different concept: This channel should be for nonstate television companies which would include independent mass media, including, for instance, the "Neva" and ATV television companies; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY could also be included and, as an independent editorial office, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA could have its own airtime. That is when this channel would really become an independent, nonstate television company with many owners.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Reporting your birthday, newspapers represented you as one of Russia's three press ministers....

[Poltoranin] Multiple authority always stops things getting done. The ministry worked efficiently in 1991—this structure helped the president to win the election and to survive the putsch. During 1992, when everything had apparently collapsed, we managed to preserve the entire press and even our thick journals. Under the aegis of the Press and Information Ministry around 6,000 independent publishing houses and independent joint-stock companies have appeared, publishing a multitude of newspapers. When we had carried all this out I felt that the ministry had fulfilled its functions.

But some people in the Press and Information Ministry believe otherwise: Now that we have been created it means that we must exist forever. I believe that many ministries which we formed in 1990 are now retarding the country's development. I once created an instrument to implement the law on the press and to demopolize the mass media. While the process was going on one administration died and another was created. Now, as the organizer of this affair, I can see that the tool has outlived its usefulness. But some people are trying to use this size 16 wrench to tighten a size 8 or a size 2 nut....

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What is your assessment of the official press ministry's professionalism?

[Poltoranin] I would rather not answer that question. The problem lies elsewhere. Reform of Russia's administration structure as a whole is needed, including administration of the processes of the mass media's destatization. This is especially true for television and radio, because these capital-intensive production facilities are the most difficult to destatize—we do not yet have the economic infrastructure to enable television to exist on advertising! The establishment process is not a one-month but a two- or three-year affair, and in my view it is better for this process to go on "under the roof" of the president. But there is

something else apart from the government, there is its head, who believes that he who has few ministries is a bad head. This is why ministers have left—the first, the second, and then the third. People at the top have gotten used to the press and the mass media always being subservient to authority. To the fact that, if I say “present arms!” or “about face!,” the instruction will be carried out immediately. I would not be surprised if parliament produces a fourth press minister as well.

Back in summer I said: If my concept is not accepted I will resign. On 1 July, as you know, I did so but the president did not accept it. For the time being.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What do you see as the solution to the situation?

[Poltoranin] There should not be a Press and Information Ministry.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But how can this be achieved?

[Poltoranin] The president must do it—unless he wants the mass media to disintegrate.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Can you count on the president's understanding?

[Poltoranin] I explained this problem to him. But we have now postponed everything until 12 December.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You have repeatedly stressed that you are now in opposition. To whom and why?

[Poltoranin] Basically I have always been in opposition. To bolshevik manners, to the lack of professionalism of those who tackle big jobs—and foul up. To betrayal, which flourishes in our structures, to the irresponsibility which we often see in the corridors of power. I am in opposition not to the president, because I believe that the president is currently the pivot holding Russia together, but to the people in the president's entourage who do stupid things on his behalf and play dirty, underhand tricks. The president relies on them but they lie and crush democracy and, in general, many of them are gradually leading us toward the restoration of the bolshevik system by their inactivity or their so very cunning position of not doing anything.

I am in opposition to, for instance, the heads of administrations who work in presidential structures and are urging people to vote against the constitution. Why? Because the constitution strengthens federal authority in Russia, because federal authority could restore Russia's unity, but they have gotten used to being little princelings!

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Mikhail Nikiforovich, there have been lots of cases whereby the current authorities have been reproached for being amoral. They include the virtual bribery of servicemen on the eve of the president's so-called fall offensive, whereby the Army was not being paid wages but was given them on the eve of the

events, and the not altogether pretty tale of the encouragement of the deputies who deserted from the White House in time.... What do you think about the morality of the current authorities?

[Poltoranin] There is a general concept of authority. It applies to both groups in power and power structures, and I would not wish to say that all these power structures are lily-white. You know, I have always dreamed that high morals and politics would go hand in hand, and I have tried and still try to live according to this principle. But I can see that far from everybody acts in the same way. That is why, because of their amorality, all the suspicion generated by certain groupings and people falls on us.

Now for the details you cited. It was not the president but the Central Bank that paid the military. I myself toured the garrisons: Regimental commanders realized that their troubles were the result of a struggle between the branches of power. Decisive measures were needed, and the president said his piece. Of course, the bribery of the deputies you mentioned could be considered amoral. Although, on the other hand, maybe the means were not entirely proper but they justified the ends: He was elected to ensure that no clash occurred outside the White House. I am not excusing the deputies who abandoned everything to chase after high wages, because generally I despise double-dealing. I despise fickle people who betray their ideas. But it was a necessary step for the country's good...

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Your forecast: What will happen to Khasbulatov and his associates?

[Poltoranin] I think that the personal fate of Khasbulatov or Rutskoy is not all that important for Russia now. They should be judged by the memory of the dead from both sides. What they get under the law—whether they receive a conditional sentence or something else—that is another question. But the court of memory must constantly prevail over them and over people like them, over ambitious people striving for power by any means. They are a threat to Russia only if we do not adopt the constitution. Then we would go backwards, to the period before 21 December [as published], in which the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet existed.... This situation would be so dangerously explosive that it could get out of control. Then the “fifth branch,” by which I mean the criminal-political branch, will call on both Rutskoy and Khasbulatov—a situation of which many people are still not aware. But if the constitution is adopted, then these personalities will no longer be of any significance to Russia and then it will be possible, as they say, to open the cell door, take hold of the strap, unfasten them, and say: “Go, guys, but you had better not get involved in such things any more.” Then the mechanism of the new constitution, the mechanism of power, will already have started to operate. Russia has now reached a sort of ridge, it is standing on this ridge but any shock could dislodge it and it would fall back into the ravine which it took so long to get out of. With the adoption of the constitution the country will cross this ridge and be in a new position, which will be clearly defined: There is a head of state, there are two

shoulders—the government and parliament, and there is a clear limb or vertical of this power—from the president to the village elder.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You are somewhat reminiscent of Solzhenitsyn....

[Poltoranin] He is right in many respects. If, for instance, the Communists win, they will put the screws on, spin round and round, and try to make some amendments to the constitution, but these corrections will not enable them to do the most important thing—break up the state system of power.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Are you not embarrassed by the statements of politicians of an extremist persuasion: They say everything is fine, the constitution suits us, we will continue to fight for power. After all, in principle the constitution gives any political force or party the chance of getting into power.

[Poltoranin] Well thank God for that. If the constitution did not allow certain forces to come to power it would be worthless. Then I would be the first to go into the street and say: Peasants, citizens, Russians, do not vote for this constitution because it is a constitution for a grouping. While our constitution gives all parties the right to fight for power by parliamentary means and to win in parliamentary and presidential elections. But this constitution does not give these parties the right to act against the people—even if they won, on the basis of this constitution they would be forced to advance Russian life.

Some say that under this constitution the Duma has few functions. I do not agree. It is simply that at the moment under the constitution the Duma is reminiscent of a ball which has not yet been inflated. But this ball has to be inflated by the Duma itself! The first and second branches of power—their vertical must be taken right down to the grass-roots level, to local self-government, and all this is the Duma's job. It is also left with reform of the third branch. Today the judicial branch is still untouched virgin territory which we have inherited from Bolshevism. There is also another niche—for the fourth estate—the independence of the mass media.

But in my view the main conflict, the main contradiction today is in reforming the political system: Between the historic, objective processes which are now driving Russia (and Russia is driving them) and our totalitarian thinking.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Yes, the Duma is good for everybody, except that it is taking away the Russian Press House from the press....

[Poltoranin] I consider this decision by the president's team to be a big mistake. When I was talking to Boris Nikolayevich about this subject he asked me: How do you and other journalists react to this? I said that I was categorically against the transfer and that journalists would take it very badly. Because the only thing they received in all the years fighting for democracy was a house into which they are packed like sardines. Confiscating this house now means alienating the entire journalistic fraternity. This is all the

more dangerous since the current coarseness and loutishness of the authorities and the impudence of many power structures have already started to alienate journalists and send them to the opposition's side. Alas, my arguments were not taken into account.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Thanks to television everyone found out about your joke that the president has an angel on one side and the devil on the other, and the government is the devil.... How do you explain your allegations against the government?

[Poltoranin] I do not have any allegations. I want the government to look ahead when it works. But you can see that a bunch of presidential edicts have come out which have not been backed up at all by government work. We have a reformer president but the reforms have not been backed up by specific action. Some people are already crying out: The people are being deceived, this is what he promised but he did not do it!... Edicts have come out but nobody has implemented them.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In your view are these deliberate actions or is everything happening through a lack of professionalism?

[Poltoranin] Judge for yourself. There is a certain Vice Premier Zaveryukha. Here is his voting record in the former Supreme Soviet: He voted almost 100 percent against all reforms planned by the president. But now he is one of the chief "reformers" in the government! Plenty of such examples can be cited. I am not in opposition to the government, but I am afraid that when it falls (and fall it will) the government will bring down the president with it. Consequently we would again get an unstable situation in Russia.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Mikhail Nikiforovich, an argument has now broken out between Luzhkov and Chubays about the progress of privatization. In your opinion is it an argument between like-minded people or are there irreconcilable differences here?

[Poltoranin] I believe that they are just like-minded people. Both Chubays and Luzhkov are people with one desire, one direction, and they want the best for Russia. But whereas, for instance, Luzhkov thinks that it is better for Russia to do something one way Chubays thinks otherwise. I would very much like these tactical differences not to turn into a bloodbath and not to turn people into implacable enemies. But if Luzhkov has more practical and municipal experience something can be taken from him too. Chubays has a good concept but he has lots of executors who do not always do as he has indicated. Consequently this concept is being distorted, and later everything will come crashing down on him. Sometimes Luzhkov simply attacks these distortions. I think that it is simply necessary to sit down and work out a common line.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Are you still inclined to play the same game?

[Poltoranin] What else? If our structure and my supporters in this field did not exist today, long ago only the dregs of the press would have been left. Television channels would

have been hived off. Now one bank could be used to fight another bank via Independent Television, and they would sling mud at each other and devour Russia. All this could happen and there are many people who would like to profit from it. When you stand guard over the interests of society and Russian journalists you stick in many people's craw, you are passionately hated, and ways of toppling you are sought. Furthermore the president admitted to me that an awful lot of nonsense has been put on his desk and is still being put there. All this is being manipulated to turn him against Poltoranin. When people are unsuccessful they look for other options: They dreamed up this story of the Berlin House, just like they did with the Russian Press House.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Incidentally, how did the story of the Berlin House end?

[Poltoranin] All accusations were dropped. I wrote to Chubays around a month ago, when the Prosecutor's Office had withdrawn all accusations, that the president's edict on the Berlin House was not being implemented. I asked him to put the house on his budget, so that this house becomes Russian in perpetuity. Let the president decide which department it will then pass to. The letter went out but unfortunately there has been no progress. The house is Russian but someone is keeping it in an ownerless state, and it cannot be ruled out that this is so that a helping hand can be held out to it later.

In summarizing what I have said I want to stress that in principle today, to my great regret, everything stems from authority's unscrupulousness. We are still a very long way from the ideal which we have seen. There are lots of people who have wormed their way into authority without having any moral principles. They are pushing their way through, they have strong elbows, teeth, and stomachs, like sharks but nothing else. They are creating a background of dirt on all authority. I do not think that these elections will help us purify authority, but I hope that through elections our authority will become much purer and after another cycle we will get a fundamentally new authority incomparably more acceptable to Russia.

Journalists Protest Eviction From Offices in Moscow
LD1312142993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Editorial offices located in the House of the Russian Press on Pushkinskaya Square in downtown Moscow protested against being evicted from the building by staging a rally of protest today.

The journalists, despairing of making the authorities heed their demands, blocked traffic in Pushkinskaya Street where the building is located. The protest action was supported by other Moscow journalists who joined the rally in solidarity with the strikers.

According to eye-witnesses, public transport passengers and motorists showed understanding after they were explained the reason for the protest. After the action was over the police drew up a report on the incident.

A total of 35 editorial offices are currently located in the House of the Russian Press, including "THE RUSSIAN INVALID," "SOCIAL WELFARE," "MOSKVICHKA," the "GLAGOL" children's newspaper and the newspaper "THE PRESIDENT."

Outcome of 'Battle' Over Channel 4 Said 'Uncertain'
PM1312124393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p12

[Article by correspondent Marina Denisova: "Battle for Channel Four: News From the Front"]

[Text] On 30 November, a week after the publication and immediate withdrawal of the Russian president's edict "On the Operation of Television's Channel Eight (Moscow)," which caused a huge controversy, the "Ostankino" Television Company held a news conference to voice the official point of view of Channel One's leadership.

The invitation to the news conference was original: "Briefing for restricted circle of journalists." As it turned out, "Ostankino" had decided that organs of the press which do not support its policies in their publications should be cut off from information. Journalists from NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI were among those barred, for example. The experiment to single out a clan of tame journalists did not quite succeed, however: Those who were not invited came anyway.

It seems that the agreement signed by NTV President Igor Malashenko and representatives of the Association of Independent Television Producers Organizational

Committee did not suit everyone: the "Ostankino" Television Company, in particular, to which, strictly speaking, the airtime of "Channel Four," or ATV, belongs. "Ostankino" is mainly disappointed by the president's edict because it was prepared to go it alone, without the involvement of other television companies, and set up a nonstate television company on "channel eight": a kind of controller for ordering programs from firms of producers and "with a share in the capital of commercial structures." It did not have time to put this idea into practice, however. Now the channel is being taken away altogether, which is annoying, of course.

First Deputy Chairman of "Ostankino" Kirill Ignatyev believes that "Channel Four," which is slipping through their fingers, is economically the most efficient. It is watched by 21 percent of Russia's population; it can attract large numbers of advertisers in major cities; the channel does not spend very much on renting means of communication; and, unlike the "Russia" Television Channel, it is not being "broken up" by regional television companies. Finally, "Channel Four" does not require substantial initial investment.

"Ostankino" believes that there should be a return to the idea of competing for the right to broadcast on "Channel Four" and that this course of action—the only lawful, fundamentally logical course of action—was proposed long ago by the television company. That very same day, however, in a conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, Chairman of the Commission for Licensing Television and Radio Broadcasting Aleksey Simonov said: "None of those fighting for 'Channel Four' have approached our commission and we have received no applications."

"Ostankino" expresses its mistrust of NTV by pointing out that the new television company is hardly capable of setting up and managing its own television channel. As far as our television monster is concerned, NTV is just a "producer firm monopolizing broadcasting."

However, the front line could be extended in the near future: One of the meter-band channels, previously used for broadcasts by the Security Ministry, the Defense Ministry, and other departments whose products cannot be seen by switching on your television set at home, is being "cleared." Thus, conversion will soon introduce a new spectacle for the "general" viewer.

The strange story surrounding the edict itself is also gradually becoming clear. It seems "Ostankino" did not see it at all, and it was not given the official seal of approval by Anatoliy Chubays and Mikhail Poltoranin. Vyacheslav Bragin, who only found out about the edict through ITAR-TASS channels, telephoned President Boris Yeltsin. After that, the edict was withdrawn.

Correspondence with the president is becoming fashionable in the battle for "Channel Four." Following a letter from the president of NTV and the Association of Independent Television Producers Organizational Committee requesting that the edict be brought into force, the "Ostankino" Council of Directors sent Boris Yeltsin its

own message, requesting the exact opposite: Namely, to stop the edict from coming into force, so as "not to inflict arbitrary rule on the many thousands who make up the 'Ostankino' collective."

The leaders of ATV were evidently right when they refused to comment on the situation for IZVESTIYA a week ago, saying it was unpredictable. Despite the signed agreement, the battle goes on and the outcome is uncertain.

We asked Igor Malashenko to comment on the view taken by "Ostankino": "Kirill Ignatyev has clearly got his terminology wrong if he describes our television company as a 'producer firm.' NTV is the only company financed by a group of banks. 'Most,' 'Natsionalny Kredit,' and 'Stolichnyy' invested \$32 million in us in the first 15 months of our existence. Precisely for that reason, NTV has been able to put together a brilliant team of journalists and produce a regular information program, the most complex and expensive on television today. Now NTV is actively buying television films, which also cannot be described as producer activity."

In Igor Malashenko's opinion, there can be no question of NTV having a monopoly on broadcasting. After all, under the terms of the president's edict, the company is given only 58 hours of broadcasting per week, and, since the agreement between NTV and the Association of Independent Television Producers, any talk of a monopoly has become simply ludicrous. The situation is developing in exactly the opposite direction: NTV wants to break the monopoly of state television. "We are prepared to fight for 'Channel Four' by every means possible. We are not afraid of competition," Igor Malashenko is convinced. "It has been talked about for at least a year now. I publicly called for competition several months ago, but 'Ostankino' has always resisted. Kirill Ignatyev's statement in this connection is simply hypocrisy and a desire to gain time to their advantage."

PRAVDA Returns, Thanks Readers for Support

PM1012150093 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 1

[PRAVDA message to readers: "PRAVDA Is With You Today"]

[Text] After being silent for so long, our newspaper has finally gotten the opportunity to meet with its readers again.

We apologize to our subscribers and the paper's friends for our enforced silence. The burdens and troubles of unfortunate Russia and its people are the troubles and burdens of the free press as well, particularly the opposition press. This time nobody closed us down directly—they simply cut off our oxygen supply, and for almost three weeks the typesetting machines in the printing office went cold and the skilled hands of the typesetters were idle.... The paper's journalists were left without a voice at a most feverish point in Russia's political life.

We know from the hundreds and thousands of letters and telephone calls to the editorial office that our readers actually suffered particularly badly from the lack of an opportunity to hear PRAVDA's voice and discover its opinion of the draft Constitution, the party programs, electoral blocs, and the multitude of candidates standing for the Federal Assembly. After all, it is incredibly difficult to make a choice today and Russia's fate depends on this.

It became possible to bring this issue out thanks to support from PRAVDA's friends—a heartfelt thank you to them. We must point out that it was not only communists who came out in support of this newspaper, which, to quote a statement by the board of the Democratic Party of Russia, "has begun to speak to the people in an open and honest manner." People who understand that there can be no democracy without freedom of speech and glasnost consider that the new PRAVDA conforms to these principles.

We value highly the kind words said about the newspaper. We call on you to believe in PRAVDA. Believe in it always, whatever trials fate puts us through.

The current account of the newspaper PRAVDA's editorial office is No. 1009019 at the Kirovskiy Rayon branch of the Moscow Investment Bank, Moscow, sort code 201230, code 15.

"Standoff" Between Chief Editor, Deputy

MK1112105093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[Bor's Glebov report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Fate of PRAVDA To Be Determined"]

[Text] Yesterday night the future of PRAVDA was in be decided: by the time this issue of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA was ready for distribution, an emergency meeting of the newspaper's workers' collective opened at PRAVDA. It was devoted to financial matters and the newspaper's registration.

The meeting was offered three options of transforming the newspaper into a joint-stock company, an option proposed by former editor in chief Gennadiy Seleznev, that of current Chief Editor Viktor Linnik, and that of Deputy Chief Editor A. Il'in.

A standoff between Messrs. Yanonis and Linnik has reached such proportions that Viktor Linnik, despite being editor in chief, was recently taken off the list of cofounders of PRAVDA International, an organization whose board includes five people: Mr. Yanonis himself, his two sons, Deputy Chief Editor Il'in, and, until recently, Chief Editor Linnik. Mr. Yanonis, who owns PRAVDA International, plans to appoint Seleznev, former editor in chief, to the board to replace Linnik.

FEDERATSIYA Resumes Publishing Thanks to Regional Sponsor

MK1012122093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 105, 9 Dec 93 (Signed to press 9 Dec) p 1

[FEDERATSIYA Editorial Board statement under the "FEDERATSIYA and State Committee on Federation and Nationality Affairs" rubric: "Near the End of Election Battles, Our Newspaper Has Come Out. After More Than a Two-Month Hiatus"]

[Text] FEDERATSIYA was not banned in the wake of the October events. The collective of the editorial office did not have to defend their right to labor activity in court. The architects of the new order went after the newspaper in a more sophisticated way. They barred it from taking part in the most important political campaign by totally cutting off financing for the newspaper of Russia's peoples. The collective of the editorial office sent out intermediaries [khodatars] to all upon whom the fate of journalism depends in the current troubled times. Shameyko, Poltoranin, Tsabriya, and Finance Minister Fedorov all expressed sympathy and voiced confidence that the status quo would be restored in the immediate future.

This issue of the newspaper has seen the light of day thanks to the sponsorship of one of the components of the Russian Federation. We believe that this is only the beginning, and we hope for help from the other regions of our multinational Russia.

But there is yet another resource: the reader would say, the State Committee for Federation and Nationality Affairs where Abdulatipov is in charge of the press—a legitimate founder of the newspaper. Its high position commits the State Committee for Federation and Nationality Affairs to support the printed organ.

Yet in accordance with the newspaper's charter, in practice, the editors have received no real help. As for the chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationality Affairs, he preferred to conduct his election campaign under the motto of "unity and accord" in common with other leaders of the mass media.

Such is the reality of recent months—necapet comes for the editorial office's collective, let us note. We know that story needs to be told on the eve of 12 December. We must only the aspects of interests of programs, slogans and initiatives of the parties and blocs, but also the moral qualities of individual aspirants to people's confidence will come up for weighing in at the ballot boxes. In this case we do not speak about ourselves, of course. We have in mind our multinational readership. They did not receive dozens of issues with, believe us, sufficiently pointed and interesting material. The blow at the newspaper was dealt in the period of an intensive subscription campaign, which demonstrated the attitude not only to journalists but also to the readers doomed in the Russian outback to information hunger. Who needs it?

We are asking readers, public organizations, all who indeed want to see our Russia united, to support the

creative collective in their noble cause. In the period of development of a new statehood, FEDERATSIYA is and will be a platform for the peoples of Russia.

[Signed] Editorial Board

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Back in Circulation

PM1312194593

[Editorial Report] SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, No. 118 (10981), was back in circulation after a break of more than two months on 14 December. The newspaper's masthead and the editorial and publication information are identical to what they were before its suspension. There also appears to be no change in layout, typeface, content, or tone.

A boxed feature, titled "Why the Newspaper Was Silent" and carried over the first two columns of page 1, comprises an order from First Deputy Minister of Press and Information Tsbriya, dated 4 October 1993, ordering "unconditional implementation" of the Law "On the Mass Media," the Law "On the State of Emergency" on the territory of Moscow City, and presidential edicts No. 1400 and 1452; a second order from Tsbriya, dated 13 October 1993, ordering the dismissal of Chief Editor Chikin and Deputy Chief Editor Nikolayev; a ruling by Moscow's Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court that Tsbriya's 4 October order is unlawful; and the following "directive":

"To the 'Pressa' Publishing House

"Copy to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editorial Office

"In implementation of the 23 November 1993 ruling by Moscow's Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court, we request you to lift any restrictions on the publication and dissemination of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA stemming from the effect of order No. 183 of the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information dated 4 October 1993.

[Signed] "First Deputy Minister D.D. Tsbriya"

Military & Space Issues

Navy Denies Obsolete Cruisers To Be Sold Abroad

LD1012211993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1733 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaitskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—The press centre of the Russian Navy denied media reports that it planned to sell abroad obsolete cruisers from the Baltic Fleet's Leninograd naval base.

"No plans have been or are being considered for selling to a Scottish charitable society or another company acting as a go-between, any ship owned by the Russian Navy", a source in the press centre told ITAR-TASS on Friday [10 December].

The source called "false" media reports that a certain charitable society is about to buy an obsolete Russian

cruiser, a sister ship of the "Varyag", the heroic vessel famous for the part it played in the Russian-Japanese war at the beginning of this century, and has even paid 90 thousand pounds of sterling in advance.

The press centre holds that no ships of this class have survived and advises all companies willing to buy Russian naval property to approach the fleet officials and avoid intermediaries and quasi-experts of all kinds.

Military Forum Seeks State-Regulated Conversion Program

LD0912195293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1701 GMT 9 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—A scientific conference dealing with the problems of the Russian military and industrial complex has finished its work today. Its final document says that "the crisis of the Russian military and industrial complex stems from the radical reforms, deep economic crisis of the country, unprecedented reduction of military expenditures and drastic defence conversion." The participants in the conference arrived to the conclusion that the existence of the complex which is the only source for Russia's security is a stake now and the state must do its best to make it survive.

The military experts suggest that the state should reinforce the regulation of the conversion in military production. They believe that better coordination is necessary in the course of disarmament. Also needed is "the readiness of the military industrialists to implement disarmament measures within the fixed terms preserving the required defensive potential and without disorganization and social losses."

The participants in the conference stressed that among the various forms of state support preference should be given to direct earmarked financing, state credit bonuses, and differential taxation. In order to preserve and develop the research and technological potential of the Russian military complex they suggested within the shortest possible terms to work out and adopt a state programme of privatization of enterprises and research institutions of the defence complex for 1994-1996 and to pass a law on intellectual property.

Ministry Briefs Diplomats on Military Doctrine

PM1312134193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate: "Provisions of Military Doctrine Explained"]

[Text] A briefing on the subject "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation" for military, naval, and air force attaches accredited in Russia was held in the External Relations Directorate of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense 10 December.

The representatives of the military diplomatic corps were addressed by Lieutenant General G. Ivanov, chief of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Military Building and Reforms Directorate.

Pilots Decorated for Courage on 'Special Mission'

PM1312150193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Ivanov report under "Yesterday" rubric: "Orders for Air Defense Pilots"]

[Text] Colonel General Viktor Prudnikov, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces, has presented a group of pilots with Russian state awards conferred on them by an edict of the Russian Federation president for fulfilling a special mission.

The recipients of the order "For Personal Courage" include Col. Gen. Vladimir Andreyev, the first person in the Russian Armed Forces to refuel a MiG-31 fighter-interceptor in the air, and Lieutenant Gen. Leonid Bokov, Col. Sergey Shmakov, and Col. Gennadiy Balashov. In all, 13 people were awarded orders and medals.

Institute Plans Increased Control Over Nuclear Materials

LD1012213693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1806 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—The "Kurchatov Institute" Russian scientific center has accomplished a draft of a new system of control over nuclear materials, Academician Nikolay Ponomarev-Stepnoy, vice-president of the center, told a news conference here today.

"The law enforcement bodies of Russia have registered some cases of misappropriations of atomic materials lately," the researcher said. "Although no such facts have been recorded directly at the 'Kurchatov Institute', the situation is very dangerous. We consider it necessary to strengthen control over nuclear materials, and a new draft of the control system has been worked out exactly for this purpose," the academician noted.

According to Aleksandr Rumyantsev, one of the main think tanks of the draft system, at present control over

nuclear materials is based on data from the institute's accounts department. In the future the emphasis will be made on the results of physical measurements of materials which will allow to know a specific situation practically every week. At the same time the administration of the scientific center intends to take stock of nuclear products on a regular basis.

The draft of a new control system has been prepared together with specialists from the American Technical Institute (U.S.A.). Researchers from the "Kurchatov Institute" find it rather important that for the first time the Russian state scientific center has been closely cooperating with the U.S. private scientific establishment.

Space Crew Completes Training for Longest Mission

LD1312134793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1210 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Training sessions for the 15th main space mission aboard the Mir space station are nearing completion at the Yuriy Gagarin cosmonauts' training centre in the Moscow region, ITAR-TASS learnt from Igor Kuznetsov, information centre head of the training centre, on Monday.

Two crews are training for history's longest space flight which will continue for 427 days. One crew consists of ship commander Viktor Afanasyev, flight engineer Yuriy Usachev and doctor cosmonaut Valeriy Polyakov.

The second crew: Ship commander Yuriy Malenchenko, flight engineer Torgat Musabayev and doctor cosmonaut German Arzamazov. The centre plans for the first time TV talk sessions with members of the 14th main expedition so that the relief crew can replace the previous one more efficiently.

Vasiliy Tsyblyev and Aleksandr Serebrov familiarised the relief teams with the state of the orbital station, the layout of equipment and peculiar features of operating onboard systems. The crews are now undergoing examination training sessions.

The interdepartmental commission will make its conclusion on the crew's readiness for the flight aboard the Soyuz-TM-18 spaceship on December 17. The crew is to blast off on January 8, 1994 to return in 1995.

International Affairs**Moldovan President Arrives on State Visit***LD1312115493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1107 GMT 13 Dec 93**[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valery Demidetskiy]*

[Text] Chisinau December 13 TASS—Moldovan President Mircea Snegur left Chisinau on Monday for an official visit to Ukraine. He is accompanied on his two-day visit to Kiev by Prime Minister Andrey Sangeli.

The Moldovan president can expect to sign a package of documents with the Ukrainian side. Such agreements were envisaged by a Moldovan-Ukrainian treaty of good will, friendship and cooperation, which was signed last year.

The crisis which both republics have found themselves in has forced them to speed up the renewal of cooperation.

The two sides intend to discuss, along with economic problems, the civil rights of and social security for their citizens employed in the other country.

The question of Ukrainian participation in the settlement of the Dniester conflict, along with Russia, Romania and the CSCE, will occupy a separate place in the moldovan-Ukrainian talks.

Upon his arrival, Snegur was welcomed at Borispol Airport, decorated with the Moldovan and Ukrainian national flags, by Ukrainian Vice-Premier Valeriy Shmarov, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, and other government officials.

To Discuss Transdniester Conflict*LD1312133893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1220 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev, 13 Dec—Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has begun a two-day official visit to Kiev. He was met at Borispol Airport by Ukraine's minister of foreign affairs, the Moldovan ambassador to Ukraine, and other officials.

Mircea Snegur said that during the visit he will hold consultations and discuss the implementation of the treaty signed between Ukraine and Moldova last year in Chisinau. "Undeniably, we will also touch on the Transdniester issue, since Ukraine is interested in positive solutions to the problems caused by the armed conflict in the region," Mircea Snegur said.

Other issues to be discussed include joint work in international organizations and economic aspects of cooperation, such as policy coordination and verification of the export and import indices for 1994. A meeting between the presidents of Moldova and Ukraine is planned.

Confers With President Kravchuk*LD1312193493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Text] Moldova's President Mircea Snegur, who arrived in the Ukrainian capital today on a two-day official visit, has met Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk. An honor guard was assembled in front of St. Mary's Palace and an official greeting ceremony took place.

Leonid Kravchuk warmly welcomed the Moldovan president. The two countries' state anthems were played. The honor guard ceremonially marched past the presidents.

A conversation then followed between Leonid Kravchuk and Mircea Snegur behind closed doors in St. Mary's Palace. Negotiations between the government delegations of Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova were held at the same time. Moldova's Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli, Ukraine's First Deputy Premier Vasyl Yevtukhov, Ukraine's Deputy Premier Valentyn Landyk, and other officials took part in the talks.

Signs Cooperation Agreements*LD1312202793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1925 GMT 13 Dec 93**[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Alexey Petrunya]*

[Text] Kiev December 13 TASS—The first day of Moldovan President Mircea Snegur's official visit to Ukraine ended by the signing of joint documents.

Representatives of the governments of the two states signed a treaty on legal assistance and legal relations in civil and criminal cases, an agreement on labor activity and social protection of citizens of Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova working beyond the borders of their states, an agreement on trade and economic cooperation in 1994, as well as a protocol of the talks between delegations of the State Customs Committee of Ukraine and the State Department of Customs Control of Moldova on the establishment of joint customs control in border check points of both countries.

Replying to journalists' questions shortly after the signing of documents, Leonid Kravchuk and Mircea Snegur highly estimated the results of the talks noting that they gave a new impetus to relations between the two neighboring states. It was specially stressed that the Ukrainian leadership once again confirmed its support for President Mircea Snegur's initiatives on maintaining stability in the republic of Moldova and preserving its territorial integrity.

Urges Equality of CIS Members*LD1312212193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2011 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Text] On Monday evening in Kiev, Ukrainian and Moldovan Presidents Leonid Kravchuk and Mircea Snegur signed three agreements: a treaty on legal assistance and legal relations on civil and criminal trials, on labor activity

and social security for Ukraine's and Moldova's citizens working abroad, and on trade and economic cooperation.

After the signing ceremony Kravchuk told journalists that in the course of their negotiations with President Snegur "he reconfirmed Ukraine's position regarding Moldova's territorial integrity."

When asked about his attitude towards the CIS, Kravchuk indicated that "the Commonwealth should solve all issues which cannot be resolved at a bilateral level." However, this "necessitates wish of all participants and equality of each member."

Leonid Kravchuk also reported that he opposes position of several leaders who "advocate transparent borders under the absence of an agreement on the level of prices and wages."

For his part, Moldovan President said that "negotiations between leaders of two countries were fruitful." He has highly appreciated Ukraine's position regarding settlement of the situation in Transdnistria.

Welcomes Support

LD1412102693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The first day of Moldovan President Mircea Snegur's official visit to Ukraine ended with the signing of joint documents. Representatives of the governments of the two states appended their signatures to a treaty on legal aid and an agreement on labor activity and social protection of citizens of Ukraine and Moldova working outside their own states, an agreement on trading and economic cooperation next year, and also a customs protocol.

Leonid Kravchuk and Mircea Snegur highly praised the negotiations. Attention was drawn to the fact that the Ukrainian leadership confirmed its support for President Mircea Snegur's initiative on preserving the territorial integrity of Moldova.

Ukraine To Receive U.S. Economic Aid

LD1412115093 Kiev UNLAR in Ukrainian 2211 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 13 Dec—The United States agreed to grant Ukraine \$155 million in technical and economic aid aimed to facilitate exchanges, small privatization, establishment of law and order, nuclear power programs and health care. The aid package includes a \$40 million credit limit for the purchase of agricultural produce.

With regard to safe and secure dismantling of nuclear arms, the government of the United States has so far allocated \$175 million dollars to help Ukraine abide by its commitments on the START treaty. The United States is prepared to begin the issue of aid before Ukraine ratifies START and joins the nuclear arms nonproliferation treaty.

Aid toward the dismantling of nuclear arms will be determined by the scope and speed of current nuclear arms dismantling in Ukraine. Ukraine can receive aid as soon as it signs the necessary agreements with the United States which would constitute a comprehensive legal framework for the aid and regulate payments from the Nann-Lugar funds.

Apart from early disarmament aid, the Nann-Lugar funds for Ukraine will be also used to maintain control over nuclear materials, export control, communications, quick-response technology and nuclear reactor safety, as well as to facilitate mutual exchanges and the setting up of a science and technology center.

Yermakov Favors Restoration of Ties With Russia

LD1312162493 Kiev UNLAR in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—Ivan Yermakov, head of the city's state administration who is running for president of the Crimea, sharply criticized Ukraine's leadership in a local television address on 12 December. He read an appeal in which he accused the leadership of Ukraine of pursuing an ill-considered economic policy and ignoring local power bodies. Ivan Yermakov called on Ukraine's leaders to publish their economic reform program as soon as possible, speed up the settlement of the Black Sea Fleet and dual citizenship issues, and stop the "destruction of Ukraine's historic and cultural ties with Russia."

"In this critical situation," the statement says, "we believe that the president and parliament must clearly determine the guidelines which Ukraine will follow. Within a short time it is necessary to publish the program of economic and political reforms and obtain its nationwide support. A resolute 'no' must be said to any manifestations of nationalism. [passage indistinct]"

The appeal to the leadership of Ukraine was signed by other members of the city state administration.

Paper Criticizes Russian Ministry Statements

AU1312091093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 9 Dec 93 p 5

[Report by Liliya Heorhiyeva from Moscow; date not given: "At the Point of Absurdity, or a Mechanism With the Necessary Number of Well-Trained People"]

[Text] Briefings at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs always involve sensations, but recently, a new generation of Moscow diplomats has left far behind even its predecessors who, in the hall at Zubovskiy Boulevard, told the whole world about the Korean airliner that "flew at reduced height in the direction of the sea," about the "nonparticipation of Soviet volunteers in the war in Angola," and about "ardent requests" for assistance coming from the Afghan leadership.

All of those are nothing compared with the present statements. For example, at a recent meeting with the press, director of the Information Department at the Russian

Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs Grigoriy Karasin, whose "strong" statements have already made him famous, said the following:

"The CSCE forum in Rome has actually recognized Russia's special role in settling conflicts on the territory of the former USSR."

Is it really worth explaining to Mr. Karasin how things really were? Of course, not. He knows everything perfectly well. However, he says different things.

That briefing made me feel sympathy for its organizers and participants—[Foreign Minister] A. Kozyrev's new deputy, Sergey Krylov, director of the Legal Department at the Russian Federation's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Yevgeniy Prokhorov, and that same G. Karasin. There was an impression that next to them or directly behind their backs, there stood [representatives of extreme right-wing parties] Iona Andronov, Ilya Konstantinov, Mikhail Astafyev, Sergey Baburin, and others, who demanded that "tough measures" be taken against the "near-by foreign countries." The Russian diplomats tried so hard to be super-patriots, that one couldn't help thinking of recommending them to [Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir] Zhirinovskiy's party. Wits in Moscow assessed the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' latest maneuvers regarding near-by foreign countries as a Kozyrev-Zhirinovskiy line.

The briefing at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs became yet another vivid confirmation of this. Judge for yourselves:

"A public condemnation of Ukraine's high nuclear ambitions clearly sounded in Rome."

"Ukraine's nonconstructive policy has actually undermined the adoption of a document on the entire package of issues" (incidentally, it was Russia that voted against the document).

All of these are quotes "from Karasin." Here is to what absurdity [Krylov], a new deputy foreign minister of the friendly state resorted. Answering an INTERFAX question about his attitude toward the pre-election idea expressed by former people's deputy and presently Ambassador [to the United States] Vladimir Lukin on creating rapid-deployment forces "for the protection of the Russian-speaking population anywhere," Krylov said this:

"In my opinion, this idea is quite interesting; that is to say, it is worth thinking on how to create some special mechanism, which would have the necessary number of well-trained people."

I hope that our readers in Ukraine will forgive me for this vocabulary, but I quoted Mr. Krylov literally. Never mind that his Russian is not quite good—he is a diplomat and not a philologist, and, after all, he quite precisely expressed the idea of the need to create "a mechanism of well-trained people" for keeping order everywhere.

Not only did the election campaign in Russia show the cruel confrontation between political alliances and parties,

but also their striking similarity where Ukraine is concerned. There are no differences here. Here is also the result—deeds and words of high-ranking officials at the Russian Federation's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Officials Discuss Ties With Russia, Security

WSI412100793

[Editorial Report] Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian at 1300 GMT on 13 December broadcasts the live hour-long "Independence" call-in program, featuring a discussion with Foreign Ministry officials on Ukraine's image in the international arena. The program is moderated by Yuriy Hryvinskyy.

The Foreign Ministry is represented by Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, head of the Department for Control Over Armaments and Disarmament, Volodymyr Lapytskyy, head of the Department for CSCE Affairs, and Information Department Head Yuriy Sergeyev.

The moderator invites the guests to comment on a postulate that the image of Ukraine in the world is influenced by Ukrainian-Russian relations and Ukraine's stance on a number of crucial issues.

Speaking about Ukrainian-Russian relations, Sergeyev recollects Russia's foreign policy over the last year and mentions the declaration made by the Russian foreign minister at a conference in Stockholm in 1992, picturing a possible scenario for the development of events if "undemocratic forces come to power in Russia." The declaration, deemed "a dreadful joke" by the Ukrainian Foreign Minister Zlenko, stated that if hard-liners assumed power in Russia, the latter would exercise full military control over neighboring states termed "peaceful missions on state borders" and fight for the rights of ethnic Russians living in the "near abroad". However, Sergeyev points out, the "nominally democratic" Russian Government appealed to the CSCE not long ago with "almost identical claims".

Sergeyev also underlines Kozyrev's statement that Sevastopol "has been and will always be a Russian base" and adds that the blame for these kinds of statements was once put on the disbanded legislature, but "the sad fact is that now these slogans are voiced by representatives of executive power." He says that in the course of the election campaign in Russia, some politicians resorted to "defamation, distortion of facts, and outright lies." Kozyrev used "the Sevastopol card" in his election campaign but he reiterated the same things "officially" at a Foreign Ministry briefing. Sergeyev maintains that Ukraine's stance at the Rome and Brussels conferences of foreign ministers of CSCE states was "absolutely misinterpreted" and "untrue facts were brought to the fore." In his opinion, Russia is "not only trying to form a negative image of Ukraine; it is forming a negative image of large assemblies like the CSCE conferences in Rome and Brussels."

Commenting on the "genuine results" of the conferences, Lapytskyy points out that there were attempts to "accuse Ukraine of actions that are unnatural for our state." He recalls that in Vienna in 1992, Russia suggested acting as a

peace keeper in regional conflicts within the CIS, but these intentions were countered by Ukraine's demands that a peace keeper status be granted to a group of states rather than one state. According to Lapytskyy, Russia attempted again to lobby this decision, this time at the Rome conference, but the idea was rejected, again at Ukraine's requirement that a clause about "a group of states" be included. However, Kozyrev, and other members of the Russian delegation said at an official briefing that Russia was granted "an exclusive right for such peacekeeping missions." Lapytskyy deems this fact "just another example of distorting facts."

Responding to a listener's questions about the results of the Russian elections, Kostyantyn Hryshchenko says, referring to reported success of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia led by Zhirinovskyy, that different parties may represent different political views, but "what worries Ukrainian experts, including the Foreign Ministry, is the number of people sharing these views and the possible impact they may have on international relations." Hryshchenko points out that "nobody has a right to meddle in Russia's domestic affairs, but if a foreign policy aspect is involved, and we think that there will undoubtedly be foreign policy consequences of the choice made in Russia, we must get ready for this. The attitude of that party toward Ukraine and Ukraine's future is commonly known. Thus, we cannot help worrying."

Yuriy Sergeyev adds that he treats the 12 December events in the Moscow Kremlin as a "show with all the attributes of this word."

Responding to a question on whether it would not be better for Ukraine to become a member of the CIS collective security system, in which case the Republic would not need additional security guarantees, Hryshchenko points out that "the final political outcome of this step is unclear", because "higher Russian Army officers regard the collective security treaty as a way to restore the single Soviet Army. If Ukraine wants to have this kind of an army, it should choose this path, but if we want to have a genuinely independent state developing along with other European states in accordance with the principles of equality, we see no reason to separate from the rest of Europe. Ukraine does not believe that the system of collective security will enhance security in the region. Instead, it may be used for performing tasks that are unacceptable for us—interfering into other states' domestic affairs, exerting pressure on other states, and preventing them from creating national armed forces."

Asked whether it is not time that Ukraine formed unions, including military unions with other states—the Baltics, Moldova, or Poland to protect itself from "ever-growing danger" on the part of Russia, Lapytskyy underlines that Ukraine's aim is to participate in common security structures that will probably be formed within the framework of the CSCE and to refrain from joining regional blocs.

A listener asks whether the change in nuclear intentions does not undermine the country's prestige in the world community. Hryshchenko maintains that the essence of

the decision is Ukraine's commitment to go non-nuclear, while the Ukrainian legislature has to decide when this will happen. Although the "eastern neighbor" depicts the situation as if Ukraine is walking out on its own decisions, Hryshchenko voices belief in "European countries comprehension of the fact that Ukraine's security is a very relevant component of the entire European security system." He also states that "certain progress has been achieved on this issue" however, underlining that "no state or official would support declaring Ukraine a nuclear state." Hryshchenko believes that these are the primary considerations that should be taken into account if Ukraine wants to become "an influential and important European state."

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Vietnam

WS1312095393 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program
Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] A delegation headed by Anatol Kolos, deputy minister for external economic relations, has returned from a working visit in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV]. In the course of the visit meetings were held in the SRV Ministries for Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Agriculture. Talks were focused on the need for establishing business contacts between Ukraine and the SRV. Both sides signed an agreement regarding the creation of an Ukrainian-Vietnamese intergovernmental commission for cooperation in trade, economy, science, and technology, as well as a protocol on trade and economic cooperation for 1994.

National Affairs

Kuchma, Hrynyov Create Political Bloc

AU1412104493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
8 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "L. Kuchma and V. Hrynyov Have Created a Bloc"]

[Text] The participants in the conference "Media and Elections" that was held during the recent weekend were stunned by a political sensation. V. Hrynyov and L. Kuchma, who had resigned from the parliament and government, made public their joint statement on creating an Interregional Bloc of Reforms [MBR], which will not only serve the forthcoming elections to the parliament, but will also become a permanent political force capable "of influencing the course of events in Ukraine and ready to take upon themselves responsibility before the people for the leadership of regions and the country."

According to the authors of the statement, the MBR intends to restructure Ukraine in accordance with a fundamentally new civilized pattern—from bottom up, namely: person, rayon (town), region, country, because proceeding from this pattern, it is possible to ensure "the enlistment of the services of intellectual and skilled forces from regions and the adoption of state decisions in the interests of people."

Both leaders stated that "initiatives advanced by individuals in the Supreme Council and government are virtually doomed," and therefore, the MBR must act. It will not limit its activities to parliamentary elections alone, but will also nominate its candidate for Ukrainian president.

Socialist Party Leader on Electoral Bloc Idea

WS1312152893 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Katsman: "Aleksandr Moroz Deems Many Party Leaders To Be Communists"]

[Text] Aleksandr Moroz, leader of the Socialist Party, began his campaign in Dnepropetrovsk, where he met with residents of worker districts and appeared on a live television program. Incidentally, exclusively for its guest, the Dnepropetrovsk local television suspended relaying Ostankino casts to offer him a prime time spot.

After presenting basic principles of the Socialists' program, Aleksandr Moroz flatly denied suggestions that his party would not enter any blocs for the elections. He underlined that the party's cautiousness can be explained by the fact that in a bloc, any careless move of one of its partners could ruin the entire game.

Most of the speech of the deputy was devoted to criticism of other parties and their programs. In particular, he argued that if the GKChP members [emergency committee established by plotters of the abortive coup in August 1991] had managed to hold out for three days, they would have retained power until now. The only reason why A. Moroz thinks they were defeated was their exceptional ineptness. He believes that if the plotters were still in power, many of the present democrats would be scrambling to pay their party membership fees in advance. The Socialist Party leader also said squabbles of the present party leaders greatly surprise him as "they are all communists," but he did not specify whether present or former ones.

After Dnepropetrovsk, A. Moroz went to campaign in Zaporizhzhya.

Liberal Party Leader on Goals, Election Plans

AU1412102693 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 8 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Ihor Markulov, leader of Ukraine's Liberal Party, by Alla Nosova: "Why Has Ihor Markulov Left the Post of Ukrainian Presidential Adviser?"]

[Text] The brilliance of the political character of Ukraine's Liberal Party [LPU] leader Ihor Markulov, the inconspicuous course of his party's election campaign, as also the fact that he has too quickly changed his post of adviser on questions of market economy for that of ex-adviser are giving rise to constant interest on the part of common citizens. Why is the fate of politicians such and not other? They themselves know about this best. I am giving the floor to Ihor Romanovych.

[Markulov] My relations with the Ukrainian president are normal working ones. Nor did the edict on my dismissal in connection with the transfer to another job cause any complications either. For me, it was not unexpected news or an accident. Since I have dedicated my life to democratic transformations in Ukraine, I must primarily do what is most important for promoting vigorous democratic processes in our state. A crucial moment in the development of Ukraine's Liberal Party is approaching. Therefore, to promote the cause to which I have devoted my whole life, it is most crucial to concentrate upon the activity of the LPU. Well, I remain the LPU president and chairman of the board of the corporation "Aton."

[Nosova] However, what are your impressions of work at the Cabinet of Ministers in the entourage of the Ukrainian president? Didn't you sometimes feel something of which [former prime minister] Leonid Kuchma confessed in a recent interview—that "there is nothing sacred for the upper echelons of power"?

[Markulov] Not a single country will be prosperous for as long as there is no sanctity in the upper echelons of power. That is to say, everything depends upon who comes to power. Accordingly, power may be oriented for or against the people. I do not agree with Leonid Danylovych [Kuchma's] aforementioned statement, although it was, apparently, made in connection with specific circumstances. Relative to certain collisions of today, this may be true. However, it is not the norm to which they must adhere and not the course that they must follow. Although short, my participation in the work of the leading circles has convinced me, once again, that a state's prosperity or decline are associated with the emergence of one politician or another. What prevails in that state—dictatorship or democracy—is fully dependent upon the principles and ideology professed by the leading politician.

[Nosova] What are the LPU's plans regarding the participation in the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Council?

[Markulov] During the elections, we intend to show the Liberal Party's real position in society. That is why, at the beginning of the election campaign, we do not want to join any alliances. Although, perhaps, there is not a single registered party (with the exception of Socialists and Communists), which would not strive to cooperate with us.

[Nosova] Ihor Romanovych, what particularly worries you, as a politician, in the fate of our statehood?

[Markulov] I am, perhaps, particularly distressed by the position occupied by individual leaders (incidentally, you journalists occasionally add fuel to the fire) who say that everything in our country is bad, impossible, hopeless, and at the borderline of existence. Such statements unsettle the whole world. Think for yourself, how can foreign businessmen find their bearings in Ukrainian affairs if Ukrainian politicians and Ukrainian newspapers do nothing but cry about instability and loss of independence. It is not my task to preach on this. However, it is worth changing the clef at the propaganda control panel, if we are really

interested in getting the world help us to rise to our own feet. In a few weeks, I will have to speak at a news conference in New York before American journalists and businessmen. There, I will do everything possible to tell the world about the prospects of independent Ukraine and about the real causes of the economic slump and not as they are reflected in the distorting mirror.

[Nosova] What would you like to tell your fellow countrymen in this difficult time?

[Markulov] Our people are paying for the irresponsible attitude toward the past elections. I would like to ask everybody, both politicians and housewives, to gather all their strength and emerge from the state of indifferent observers. Ukraine has a chance to embark upon its own road. Ukraine has a chance to occupy its worthy place in Europe. Nobody, except us, will build our Ukraine for us. There is a goal and there is faith, and our wise and hard-working people will, hopefully, make the right choice whom to follow and with whom to proceed.

Kravchuk, Deputy Prime Minister Address Industrialists

LD1112044193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Report on Congress of the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs by unidentified correspondent on 9 December, including remarks by Vasyl Yevtukhov, deputy prime minister for industry and construction issues, and President Leonid Kravchuk—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Yevtukhov] The main goal of the congress is to analyze the economic and, permit me to emphasize, the political situation and also to organize on this basis an election campaign in order to advance our candidates to the Supreme Council, that is, to make use of the parliamentary mechanism in order to restrain the economy from final collapse and to make it possible for its key element, goods producers of all forms of ownership, to rid themselves of stagnation and degradation, to get closer to stabilization with the prospect of revival and development.

All of these issues are dictated by life itself. (?Tests) of the economy, should, in my opinion, be based on these principles—reform and cure of political, economic, and social life. This is the affair of all citizens of Ukraine, of this state. Because they can be carried out only by the majority and in the interests of the majority. Therefore, one should rely on the majority of the population in carrying out reforms and possibly convince it of some or other steps.

The aim of reforms should be a modern, efficient, and socially oriented market economy. The depth and extent of the socio economic crisis in Ukraine in all of its definition puts forward the fundamental issue of the strategy and tactics of economic reforms. Is the Ukrainian economy going along the path of turning into a raw material appendage to developed countries, or is the revival of

industrial potential, industry, and strong agrarian production occurring? This idea should take hold of people. This is our and your work. And the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists should consistently and in a principled way stand up for namely the second path—the path to a highly-developed economic state.

[Correspondent] That is why President Leonid Kravchuk took the floor. He emphasized, as follows:

[Kravchuk] I have mounted this rostrum in order to substantiate one of my proposals. It may well be my shortest speech lately.

The thing is that the situation is not just complex and not just critical, but extraordinarily complex and critical. And my understanding is that the delegates to the congress and those members assembled here, together with the government, together with the Supreme Council and the president, can no doubt take such steps (?at this historical point) as to enable them to check the fall and rescue the economy—rescue the national economy of Ukraine and avert the social consequences.

What I propose is this: You will elect a new board today. The new board should generalize all the proposals that will be put forward here and have already been put forward, should document them appropriately, and we, together with the members of this board, should in the nearest future hold a joint meeting of the government and the board. We should make decisions at this joint session that will implement those of your proposals that, naturally, are aimed at overcoming the economic crisis and are based on reality and real possibilities with the legal, organizational, and all other foundations of that, as it were, necessary to be laid. After the joint session adopts appropriate documents that would be within the government's and the president's jurisdiction, we could make them public. The president could go on TV and address the people, having already got specific proposals adopted on the basis of the congress and on the basis of the joint meeting of the government and the board.

It would then have an absolutely specific character, and we would not have to accuse each other about who is to blame more and for what. It is absolutely about specific steps. This is the first proposal.

Second, I would like the board, which is to be elected, to really represent the interests of everybody, because it can be done if everybody is together. But if once again there is a split and enmity—trust me, we have lived long enough to see that nothing comes out of it when there is opposition within various branches of power and even between the branches of power themselves. That is why it seems to me that this union (?can produce) a (?board) that can take account of the interests of everybody (?including) other structures, those of the state. (?That is why) there simply is no need to have various councils and various unions (?that are in the government or elsewhere). They are a redundant structure.

The chairman of the board that will be elected could take part at once, on a certain footing—which can also be

worked out—on a permanent basis in meetings of the government, attend the Supreme Council, and make relevant proposals. And there is no need for us to create additional structures engaging in a tug of, shall we say, something and where someone has something from it. Then news conferences are held and letters are written and all this is in the way of normal, fruitful work.

I would like to tell you from this rostrum that now our maneuverability is extremely restricted to hold discussions and make society even more politicized. I shall support every proposal (?that is worked out jointly at the congress) and that is documented, and we shall knock them into shape organizationally and (?breathe life) into them at a

session of the government that you and I will hold together. That which concerns the Supreme Council will need to be submitted to it, and what can be done by decree will be done.

I would like to invite you to creative discussion and submission of proposals. I do not wish to limit possibilities for anyone to voice criticism. It is everybody's personal matter. But, really, so much has already been said and so much has been proclaimed from every podium that nothing can surprise anyone any longer. People can only be surprised now by concrete work and specific proposals. If this is acceptable, I shall also accept it with pleasure. [passage omitted]

Belarus

Polish Military Delegation Holds Talks in Minsk

LD1312220293 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1941 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By Urszula Mikolajczyk]

[Text] Minsk, 13 Dec (PAP)—A Polish military delegation, led by General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the Polish Army general staff, held talks in Minsk today with Belarusian Defense Minister Colonel General Pavel Kozlovskiy, Gen Nikolay Churkin, chief of the general staff, and Air Force Commander Gen Sergey Sedov.

The talks were of a working nature, while their substance proceeded from the agreement on cooperation signed in April between the Polish and Belarusian Ministries of Defense.

A preliminary agreement was reached on a plan of joint undertakings for next year. Among other things it covers cooperation in the sphere of air defense, the introduction of a system of rapid mutual reporting in the event of unintentional airspace violations by either side, and cooperation in communications and training exchanges.

The Polish delegation has left Minsk for similar talks in Moscow.

Slav Assembly Meets, Adopts Party Platform

Calls For Unity of Slavs

LD1312174923 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpts] The first congress of the Slav Assembly, Belaya Rus, ended in Minsk yesterday. Here is a recording from our correspondent, Alyaksandr Zhuk.

[Begin recording] [Zhuk] Over 100 delegates gathered for the Slav Assembly congress. They adopted the party's program and outlined an action plan for the near future. What are the aims of this organization? Here are some features of the program. Belaya Rus is in favor of the unity of the Belarusian, Ukrainian, and Russian peoples, social justice, moral, and ecological purity of the Slav home. I will ask Mikalay Maksimavich Syargeyew, the co-chairman of the assembly duma, to comment on the results of the congress:

[Syargeyew, speaking in Russian] The results of the congress pleased us. We summed up the outcome of the activity of our organization in the period since the founding congress, i.e., we have now made it clear that we have regional organizations in all oblast centers and in many rayon towns. That is the first thing. Secondly, we have gone through the stage of establishment, i.e., from a small group of enthusiasts who were organized as a club, we are now approaching the creation of a real political structure. Most importantly, the new version of our organization's rules and the program were passed.

The main aim is this: We have an analysis section in which we say that the strength of the Slav world is potentially gigantic, for it possesses the very greatest intellectual resources and energy reserves in the world. But its weakness is that the Slav world is politically and ethnically split. Therefore, the strategic task of our program is the restoration of unity, first and foremost, of the Slav-Russian peoples, i.e., the Great Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian peoples.

The second very important aspect is that we aspire to have a market economy socially oriented toward the person, to have freedom of work and creation, and various forms of ownership. At the same time, we shall aspire to carry out a strong social policy, i.e., our people must be fed, clothed and, so to speak, provided for.

[Zhuk] Will the assembly be able to exert an influence on the political situation in the Republic?

[Syargeyew] I think that it is already exerting some influence, the more so in that we are the initiators and now active participants in the biggest political association in the Republic, the People's Movement of Belarus, and we act within the framework of that movement, which now already has its MPs' association in the Supreme Soviet. So we shall obviously influence the situation in the Republic. [passage omitted]

[Zhuk] The Slav Assembly program also includes a provision on the official status of the two languages—Belarusian and Russian. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Membership Grows Tenfold

WS1312125893 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "First Congress of Slavic Assembly "White Russia" Is Held in Minsk"]

[Text] Today, in Minsk, the first congress of the Slavic Assembly "White Russia" [SAWR] has been convened. Some 150 delegates from 120 Belarusian regions are participating in its work. The delegates have adopted a party program. At present, the congress participants are discussing their activities for the upcoming winter period and electing the party leadership. According to the SAWR press center, the SAWR membership has increased tenfold since April 1992, when the SAWR was registered.

United Democrats' Statement on Rights Violations

WS1312133393 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "Political Council of the United Democratic Party Issues a Statement"]

[Text] The Political Council of the Belarusian United Democratic Party [BUDP] has adopted a statement that, in particular, states: "The old Soviet system with all its distinctive evils is still in power in our Republic. It has been preserved in all its integrity. Its existence does not

comply either with the local administration or with professional legislature. The state sector still dominates the economy." According to the authors of the statement, this leads to the preservation of the totalitarian system and the continuous violation of human rights. Moreover, the statement emphasizes that the rights of some categories of people—patients of psychiatric hospitals, servicemen, and convicts—are rudely violated. "We are going to raise issues on human rights and cooperate with the Belarusian League for Human Rights, and all organizations that are seriously dealing with these issues," the statement emphasizes.

Tariffs for Energy Sources To Increase

WS1312152993 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Yanin: "What Will Winter Bring?"]

[Text] The Ministry of Energy has submitted to the Cabinet of Ministers for further consideration a resolution on a 30-percent reduction in electricity consumption in the Republic—based on the November level—which will reduce heat consumption by 20 percent, announced Energy Minister Viadimir Gerasimov at the Supreme Soviet session.

Although all planned measures have been implemented, the situation in the Belarusian energy industry remains complex. The capabilities of the energy system, which currently amount to 7 million kilowatts, make it possible to keep up with morning and evening peak-hour demands. The daily electricity consumption totals 132 million kilowatt hours, out of which 20 percent is imported from abroad, mainly from Russia. Our country owes Russia over 140 billion rubles for deliveries of energy sources. Approximately, 40 percent of energy sources is purchased for commercial structures at market prices.

Currently, the daily heat consumption in the Republic amounts to 200,000 gigacalories, meaning 12 percent less than last year. Every day, 24 million cubic meters of gas is consumed. A year ago, we burnt 33 million cubic meters of gas a day.

The warming in December has somewhat improved the situation. Prior to this, fuel supplies in the Republic were sufficient for 10 days, in certain places—only for two.

In the near future, one should expect rigid limits for energy source consumption. Foreign debts for energy sources are to be repaid in December. Most likely, the tariffs for energy sources will increase. The only thing we can do is hope that the winter will not be severe.

Industrialist Stresses Need for CIS Market

WS1312133293 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "Petr Goydenko, vice-president of the Belarusian Scientific-Industrial Association, interviewed"]

[Text] On 11 December, Petr Goydenko, vice-president of the Belarusian Scientific-Industrial Association [BSIA], member of the coordinating council of the Belarusian Association of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, was interviewed by SEM DNEY. Mr. Goydenko named the creation of a single CIS market among measures that could prevent the deepening of the economic crisis. "Belarusian produce is oriented toward the production of a final product output. In 80 percent of the cases, our industry depends on close cooperation with industrialists from other states. Therefore, single taxation and customs duties should be introduced within this single economic space.... Currently, Belarusian industrialists have many delinquents in Russia and other CIS states," Petr Goydenko said. Next, Mr. Goydenko added that the BSIA has addressed the Belarusian Supreme Soviet demanding that urgent and strong measures regarding the stabilization of the work of the industry be adopted. Otherwise, the letter says, Belarusian enterprises could halt their work and that can trigger unpredicted social unrest.

Moldova

Further Reaction to Tiraspol Death Sentence

Envoy Briefs UN on Verdict

AU1312090093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Mircea Dascaluic report from Chisinau]

[Excerpt] The permanent representative of the Republic of Moldova to the United Nations, Mr. Tudor Pantiru handed over both to the chairman of the UN Security Council and the chairman of the United Nations General Assembly a written statement elaborated on the basis of documents available in Chisinau related to the sentences passed [in Tiraspol] on the members of the Ilascu group, announced the press office of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Moldova.

During the meeting held with Butrus Butrus-Ghali's assistant, Pantiru pointed out the fact that the Tiraspol secessionists have been ignoring in a defiant manner the interventions of international bodies, including those of the UN, and that they would never have adopted such a stance if the 14th Russian Army, the force that has been supporting the illegal Dniester regime, had not been stationed on the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

The appeals and declarations of Moldovan President Mircea Snegur and the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Moldova have been made available to be distributed as official documents of the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council, concludes the press communique released today. [passage omitted]

Dniester Speaker Rejects Transfer

LD1312150593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1411 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valery Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau December 13 TASS—The Dniester authorities consider it impossible to hand over six rebels of the Christian Democratic People's Front of Moldova sentenced to various terms for murders and sabotage last week to Moldova, a Dniester Republic top official said.

One of the rebels, Iliye Ilashku, has been sentenced to death.

Grigoriy Marakutsa, chairman of the parliament of the break-away Dniester Republic, explained the decision by the fact that a similar group captured in the Gagauz Republic last year has been left unpunished after its transfer to the Moldovan authorities.

Moldovan President Mircea Snegur and Moldovan parliament Chairman Petru Luchinskiy have denounced the Dniester court verdict as illegal and urged a transfer of the convicts to Moldova.

Russian trouble shooter Nikolay Medvedev, the president of Romania and leaders of the European Council and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have called on the Dniester authorities to show mercy for the convicts.

Politician Calls For 'Mass Campaign'

LD1312210893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2011 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Leader of the Moldova's congress of intelligentsia, former Chairman of the republic's parliament Aleksandr Mosanu, called upon Moldovans to start a mass campaign to save the life of Iliye Ilascu, at a press conference in Chisinau on Monday.

The Supreme Court of the self-proclaimed Transdnistrian Republic had sentenced Ilascu to death a week ago. As many as five members of his group also accused of terrorism had been sentenced to different terms of imprisonment.

According to Mosanu, the campaign had already begun with the manifestations held in Chisinau during the weekend. However, he distanced himself from the anti-government rallies which had taken place near the president's residence and which had led to clashes with police. Mosanu believed them to be a prearranged provocation.

Speaking at the press conference other leaders of the congress accused the Moldovan leadership and President Mircea Snegur of striking an agreement with the Russian federation and separatist leaders. In their opinion, the Transdnistrian Republic exists due to the support of Russian imperial forces which initiated the farce on the Ilascu's case."

Former Deputy Chairman of the republic's parliament, Ion Hadirca, admitted that the congress might discuss the issue on possible non-participation in the parliamentary

elections in Moldova planned for February 27 with the People's Front and other opposition forces. According to him, this was quite possible due to the situation when Ilascu had been included on the People's Front's ticket and was later deprived of the right to take part in the election campaign."

Hadirca evaluated the preliminary results of the elections in Russia as "a dangerous symptom." In his opinion, "the accession to power obtained by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy may negatively influence both the future of the accused in Tiraspol and the public and political situation in Moldova in general."

NATO Military Delegation Arrives on Working Visit

Military Aid Discussed

LD1312225893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1529 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By MOLDOVA-PRES for TASS]

[Text] Chisinau, 13 Dec—The development of business contacts between NATO and the Moldovan Armed Forces became the main aim of the working visit to Chisinau of the NATO military delegation headed by General Antonio Milani, deputy commander of the forces of this bloc in southern Europe.

The possibility of granting aid to the Republic in various military spheres was also discussed during the visit. The guests met representatives of the Moldovan Military Administration and took part in the ceremony of opening a Euro-Asian center in Chisinau. They also visited the military establishments and army units of the Republic.

Acting Foreign Minister Advocates Cooperation

AT1312143193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 9 Dec 93 p 5

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Express Information": "For a Military Cooperation With NATO"]

[Text] Moldova comes out in favor of a military cooperation with NATO. This was stated in Chisinau by Moldovan Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs Butnariu. In his opinion, NATO might render Chisinau assistance in the elaboration of a military doctrine and the creation of armed forces.

Maltese Firm Wins Contract To Supply Coal, Oil

PM1312144793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Svetlana Gamova report from the "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" roundup: "Fuel From Malta for Moldova"]

[Text] Chisinau—Twenty-two firms had offered their services in supplying fuel to Moldova. Among them were suppliers from Russia, Ukraine, the United States, and Lithuania.

A tender placed in Chisinau has given preference to the Maltese "Neftegaz-Group," part of the system of the joint Russian-U.S. venture "Neftegaz-International,"

which has had a mission located in the Moldovan capital for several years now. The prices bid by "Neftegaz-Group" were by far the most advantageous: 1 tonne of coal will cost the Republic \$12-16, and 1 tonne of fuel oil will cost \$56. A sum of \$20 million out of the \$60 million in rehabilitation credits granted by the World Bank will be used as payment.

Kazakhstan

Gore, Nazarbayev Meet, Sign Agreements

'Important Documents' Signed

LD1312182193 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1801
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Almaty December 13 TASS—U.S. Vice President Albert Gore who arrived in the Kazakh capital Almaty on Monday, went from the airport directly to the guests' pavilion in Almaty where he had a private meeting with president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Later the talks were continued in an enlarged composition at the residence of the head of the Kazakh state. The talks ended by the signing of a package of important documents. One of them which has really an indisputable human significance, is the American-Kazakh agreement on a safe dismantling of nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union inherited by Kazakhstan.

At the same time another event of historical importance occurred: the Kazakh parliament which worked on Monday for the last day before its self-dissolution, approved the republic's adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as a nuclear free state.

This became the core of the joint American-Kazakh statement. A news conference was held after the signing of this document at which Albert Gore and President Nursultan Nazarbayev replied to journalists' numerous questions.

On Tuesday the American vice-president is due to leave Almaty.

Gore Says Talks 'Fruitful'

LD1412081193 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0748
GMT 14 Dec 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondents Vladimir Akimov and Amangeldy Akhmedalimov]

[Text] Almaty December 14 TASS— U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore met journalists here today before flying to Moscow. He described the talks he had in Kazakhstan as fruitful and mutually useful not only for Kazakh-American relations, but for strengthening regional and international security, too.

Gore said that the signing of a framework agreement on dismantling intercontinental ballistic missiles silo launchers in Kazakhstan proved the desire of both sides to develop mutually equitable relations. Moreover, an agreement was reached on bilateral cooperation in liquidating the consequences of accidents and establishing an inter-governmental communication line. It is worth noting that the Kazakh parliament ratified the nuclear weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state on the day of the Kazakh-American negotiations.

An important step was made towards expanding economic relations. For instance, the sides have signed a protocol on the exchange of ratification instruments of an agreement to

encourage and mutually protect capital investments. An agreement on cooperation in science and technology was ratified for the time being. According to Gore, it will be signed during Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev's visit to the United States on February 14, 1994.

The sides have discussed the possibility of cooperating in the exploitation of the Baykonur cosmodrome, protecting the environment in regions adjoining the Aral sea and the former Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground. Gore said that the United States was ready to render Kazakhstan concrete assistance in organising the regional management of water resources.

The sides also had a frank exchange of views on the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The views of the two sides on were very close or identical.

Parliament Meets To Ratify Nuclear, Other Agreements

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

LD1312151993 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1421
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Kazakhstan's parliament on Monday [13 December] ratified the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons of July 1, 1968. Kazakhstan joined the treaty as a non-nuclear state.

World Bank, Economic Union Agreements

LD1312162393 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1421
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] The parliament in Almaty met on Monday [13 December] to ratify two agreements with the World Bank on rehabilitation and technical assistance loans to Kazakhstan.

Presenting the two papers, Economics Minister Beysenbay Izteleuov said the ratification would help cash-starved Kazakhstan obtain \$218 in aid to put its ailing economy back on its feet.

On the same day, the deputies ratified an economic union treaty that the leaders of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan signed in Moscow on September 24 as well as an agreement to coordinate the CIS effort for averting economic blockades.

The session may end already on Monday. Speaker of Parliament Serikbolsyn Abdildin told reporters during a break.

He said the ratification of the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty would come high on the agenda later in the day. Abdildin rules out the possibility of any hitches stalling the process.

Kyrgyzstan

Entire Cabinet Dismissed, New Prime Minister Named

Akayev Calls For Dismissal

LD1312132593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1227 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynaye]v

[Text] Bishkek December 13 TASS—The entire Cabinet of Ministers of Kyrgyzstan has been dismissed just now. This is the culmination point of 5-day long hot debates in the Kyrgyz parliament.

A secret vote was held prior to it which gave parliament an opportunity to assert that the prime minister does not enjoy confidence of parliamentarians.

Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev put an end to this dispute. He suggested to the entire Cabinet of Ministers to lay down its powers ahead of its term.

Akayev Appoints Prime Minister

LD1412075493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0737 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynaye]v

[Text] Bishkek December 14 TASS— The president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan today appointed Apas Jumagulov, 60, as the country's new prime minister.

Jumagulov, an oil engineer by education, is an experienced economic manager and government official—he headed the council of ministers of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic for many years.

Vice President Resigns 'Out of the Blue'

PM1312151193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[Correspondent Yuriy Razgulyayev report under the "Furor" rubric: "Gauntlet Thrown Down to Treasury Fraudsters"]

[Text] Bishkek—The resignation statement by Vice President Feliks Kulov, a very popular politician in the Republic, came out of the blue at the Kyrgyz parliament session just opened in Bishkek.

Passions that were seething initially within the upper echelons of power have worked their way to the surface in the guise of the "gold furor" that is already familiar to the public at large. Many experts believed that the upshot would be the resignation of the government or at least its premier T. Chyngyshev. Especially as the economic situation in the Republic is rapidly deteriorating. Even in the bazaars prices here are almost at Vorkuta levels, whereas pay is many times lower.

Against this background, the accusations of corruption leveled at a number of leaders necessitated the adoption of

extremely urgent measures. And it is clear that these were being prepared in parliament. To counter this, government supporters started to demand early elections. The situation was also inflamed by Askar Akayev's decision to declare a referendum on confidence in the president in January.

Deputies rejected a dissolution of parliament out of hand. But they were unable to postpone the report by the "gold commission," despite the fact that there were clearly plenty of people who supported this step. The commission's discussion revealed a number of ugly aspects of the government's activity. Many thousands of dollars were spent on cars, weapons for bodyguards, and other "play-things for the rulers." Whereas half the population, even according to understated official data, has long been living below the poverty line.

T. Chyngyshev and his aides have stubbornly denied all these facts. Then F. Kulov stood up. Announcing his own resignation, he demanded that the prime minister quit his post as well. His policy and his personal commercial activity, F. Kulov believes, are precisely what have led to the complete discrediting of the authorities.

Akayev Holds Talks With Gore in Bishkek

LD1312150893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Talks were held in Bishkek today between Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev and U.S. Vice President Albert Gore. A number of agreements between the two countries were signed. Here are the details in a report from our correspondent, Aleksandr Mirtov:

[Mirtov] Bishkek was to have been the second stop on the U.S. vice president's tour of Central Asian countries. However, the weather intervened to change the itinerary. Because of weather conditions, Almaty was unable to accept Albert Gore's aircraft and the plane landed late yesterday evening at Bishkek.

Immediately after Gore's arrival, Askar Akayev held talks with the U.S. vice president on a broad range of bilateral questions. The talks continued this morning. Two very important documents were then signed: a treaty between the Kyrgyz Republic and the United States on encouraging and mutually protecting capital investment, and an agreement between the two governments to establish a joint commission on agro-business and rural development.

At a news conference held after this, Askar Akayev noted that the signing of these documents is immensely important for Kyrgyzstan, since it opens up a broad scope for an inflow of U.S. investment in all spheres of industrial and agricultural production. It will also help speed up reform in the countryside and, above all, develop small- and medium-sized entrepreneurship there, he added.

Answering questions from journalists, Albert Gore stressed that Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan will be given support for the development of small- and medium-sized business through a special fund set up by the United States. He also noted that before his departure from Washington,

President Clinton signed an instruction on most favored trading nation status for Kyrgyzstan, since it regards that country as a bulwark and guarantee for democratic change in the Central Asian region.

One of the main results of the Bishkek talks was the preparation of an agreement between Kyrgyzstan and the United States on science, technology, and ecological problems, which will be signed in the near future.

Albert Gore welcomed Kyrgyzstan's readiness to join the nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

U.S. Vice President Albert Gore then visited Kyrgyzstan's state university. Meanwhile, his wife took part in a ceremony marking the handover of humanitarian medical aid to one of Bishkek's pediatric hospitals.

This afternoon the U.S. delegation left the Kyrgyz capital for Almaty.

Uzbekistan

Karimov, Belarus' Shushkevich Meet

LD1412101893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] A working meeting began in Tashkent today between Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov and Belarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich. The main theme of the talks is the expansion of economic cooperation between the two countries. Uzbekistan is extremely interested in supplies from Belarus of foodstuffs, heavy transportation vehicles, complex technological equipment, and many kinds of consumer goods. For its part, Uzbekistan is offering cotton, fruit and vegetables, and building materials.

Armenia

Azerbaijani 'Combat Operations' Intensify

Incidents on NKR Front

NC1312164293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri
1430 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The situation worsened at the NKR's front lines on 10 December. That was after a relatively peaceful situation in that region for several days. Not satisfied with the fire they directed in various directions, Azerbaijan's military units launched wide-scale combat operations in the southeastern sector of the front lines. The Azerbaijan National Army [ANA] units based in Beynagan Rayon launched an attack on the Armenian military positions. As usual, a wave of artillery shelling preceded their onslaught. The Armenian defense units took the necessary measures to obstruct the enemy's advance. They inflicted a considerable number of casualties on the attacking units and disabled many of their military vehicles. The situation at that part of the front line is rather tense at the present time. Azerbaijan has ignored its casualties. However, it has not been able to take the initiative. [passage omitted]

The confrontation in the other parts of the NKR's front lines has been in the form of positional fighting. The NKR intelligence units have established that the enemy is massing reinforcement and military vehicles in the eastern part of the region.

Azerbaijan continues to maintain its military preparations. However, it is also taking certain measures to add a religious nature to the dispute. In fact, that republic has intensified its propaganda effort to persuade the representatives of other peoples to participate in the military operations. However, the Islamic peoples are well aware of the fact that the confrontation is not connected with religion. It only concerns the struggle the Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] people are waging to live in freedom in their historic territory and obstruct Azerbaijan's colonial oppression. [passage omitted]

A relatively peaceful situation existed on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan until recently. We welcomed that state of affairs several times. Unfortunately, Azerbaijan's provocative activities have disrupted the peaceful situation once again. The Armenian defense positions in Berdaper, (Salidur), and Vardashen in Idzhevanskiy Rayon and Voskepar in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon in Armenia were shelled with artillery units from Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon on Thursday night. The intermittent shelling continued until the next morning. The Armenian border guards remained committed to their decision to maintain a unilateral cease-fire. They did not fire back. As usual, the Azerbaijani side distorted the facts and claimed that the border settlements in Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy and Tauzskiy Rayons were fired on from Armenia on 10 December.

The Armenian Ministry of Defense Press Service has informed us that the ANA units fired on several areas on Armenia's northeastern border last night. The enemy units fired on our defense positions around Vakhn in Krasnoselskiy Rayon at about 2300. No one was wounded in the incident. The Armenian side refrained from launching retaliatory operations.

The situation on the other parts of Armenia's border was peaceful on Saturday and Sunday.

'Army Offensive' Thwarted

LD1312201893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1951 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—An Azerbaijani Army offensive was thwarted in southeast of Nagorno-Karabakh on Monday. Nagorno-Karabakh State Defence Committee told ITAR-TASS via telephone today.

According to reports from Stepanakert, capital of the disputed enclave, the Azerbaijani Army lost eight armoured combat machines and over 200 soldiers within three days. There were no reports about the losses of the other side, although it was said that they were much smaller.

Nagorno-Karabakh authorities link the Azerbaijani troops' attempt to advance along the entire front line with Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev's visit to the war zone on December 10-11 where he reviewed Azerbaijani troops.

Positional fighting continued in southeastern districts of the region throughout Monday.

Claims of Huge Losses Denied

NC1312165593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First
Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] The Armenian Defense Ministry press service has reported that the Azerbaijani Army continued its aggressive operations against our Republic's northeastern border last night. The enemy opened howitzer fire on border guard positions around Vahan in Krasnoselskiy Rayon at 2300. There were no casualties. The Armenian border guards did not retaliate.

The situation in the Karabakh conflict zone remains tense. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army headquarters reported that the enemy conducted active military operations at the southeastern sector of the war front between 11 and 12 December with the aim of occupying a number of important positions. The NKR Defense Army units managed to stop the attacks of the enemy. There are losses on both sides. According to the preliminary reports, two fighters died and five were injured on the Karabakh side.

The battles resumed at that sector of the front at 1200 on 13 December.

The NKR Defense Army headquarters denied the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry's report that during the fighting in Beylagan Rayon the Azerbaijani Army destroyed a large number of enemy troops and military equipment.

The NKR Defense Ministry press spokesman said that such reports are reminiscent of the battle reports put out in the past by the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry's infamous Analytical and Information service headed by Leyla Yunusova. In those reports the Azerbaijani Army was scoring victories on paper and the number of destroyed Karabakh tanks, helicopters, and troops exceeded any imaginable and unimaginable bounds.

Delegation Views Status of Armenians in Abkhazia

NC1412090993 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1126 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, 13 Dec (ARMENPRES)—There is a tendency for the situation in Abkhazia to stabilize. The attitude towards Armenians is genial. This is the view of the Armenian Supreme Council delegation which visited Abkhazia between 6 and 10 December.

The delegation, headed by Seyran Bagdasaryan, a member of the Supreme Council Presidium, had meetings with Chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Council Vladislav Ardzhinba, his deputy Albert Topalyan, and the prime minister. The delegation toured Sukhumiskiy, Gagrinskiy, Gudautskiy, and Ochamchirskiy regions.

The Armenians living behind the line of confrontation have not suffered or have suffered only somewhat. In particular, the settlements in Ochamchira and Sukhumi and the surrounding areas have been damaged and pillaged, and their residents have become refugees. However, Bagdasaryan added that at present the Armenian menfolk have returned to their homes.

Prime Minister Warns Against Uncontrolled Inflation

NC1312205993 Yerevan SNARK in English 1515 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 13 (SNARK)—Armenia presently came in the period of hyperinflation, announced today Prime Minister Bagratyan to SNARK's reporter. Speaking at the Parliament, he admitted that the standards of living in Armenia declined 5-fold during the last several weeks.

Presently, a petrol seller gets more money a day than a ten thousand collective of a plant for a year period. In the prime minister's opinion, in the case that this situation with the prices still in Armenia, after 15 days it will be impossible to organize reproduction.

The head of the government proposed a program of extraordinary anti-inflationary measures those, in his words, in 6 months will stabilize and improve the situation.

Azerbaijan

Armenia Launches 'Offensive' Near Beilagan

Ministries Claim Renewed Fighting

LD1312152893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] As INTERFAX learned from a source in Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry, fighting broke out again between the Armenian and Azeri forces on the approaches to the Beilagan District in Azerbaijan. The district lies north-east of the Fizuli District, which was invaded by the Armenians last autumn. According to the Azeri Foreign Ministry, on Saturday [11 December] Armenian units launched a large-scale offensive supported by large numbers of armored vehicles.

The Azeri army managed to repulse the offensive after fierce fighting. The Armenians lost 200 men, 7 tanks, 3 armored vehicles and 10 motor cars, INTERFAX was told by the Azeri Defense Ministry. The Azeris also sustained losses, but concrete numbers are not reported.

Civilian Casualties Reported

NC1312181793 Baku Azerbaijan Radio Televiziya Television Network in Azeri 1530 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan Defense Ministry has reported that the Armenian Republic's aggression against Azerbaijan is continuing. In recent days, the Armenian Armed Forces have been fiercely shelling the border towns of Kheyrimli and (Madami) in Kazakhskiy Rayon and Terterskiy Rayon. There are dead and injured among the peaceful residents of these settlements.

The Armenian Republic has launched a large-scale offensive against Azerbaijan at the Beilagan battle zone. The Armed Forces of Armenia attacked Dzhangulu, Bestepe, Karagultepe, and other settlements of Azerbaijan on 11 and 12 December. Having crossed the confrontation line, they infiltrated 2.5 kilometers into our territory to launch an attack on the town of Beilagan. Hundreds of civilians were killed and injured and considerable material damage was caused by this attack. The Armenian occupiers are mistreating the corpses.

Measures were taken and the aggressor was stopped. The Azerbaijani Army and local civilian self-defense forces launched a counterattack and repulsed the enemy.

The Armenian Army's current provocation, which caused a new rise in tension, proves that the Armenian Republic, which talks about its alleged adherence to the peaceful resolution of the conflict, is in fact bent upon occupying new Azerbaijani lands.

Aliyev Returns From Border Rayons, Ganja

NC1312201993 Baku Azerbaijan Radio Televiziya Television Network in Azeri 1530 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] As we have reported, President Geydar Aliyev has been visiting the Republic's various regions for the last two

days to familiarize himself with the conditions in the border rayons and with the living conditions of the refugees and troops.

[Begin correspondent Mesedinezenli recording] On the second day of his tour of the border regions, that is on 12 December, Azerbaijan President Geydar Aliyev visited Ganja. Geydar Aliyev and his entourage were received at the Ganja railway station by the representatives of the city's leading workers and elders. Those who gathered in the square expressed trust in Geydar Aliyev and said that the Republic could extricate itself from its present critical situation only under his leadership.

Aliyev said that during these difficult days for the homeland, everyone, regardless of his ethnic identity, should rise up for the defense of the land and struggle against the enemy from one single front.

He started his tour of the [name indistinct] quarter of Ganja, by paying a visit to the monument of Dahi Nizami. He met the representatives of the Kepez Rayon community, which has assumed the expenses for the construction of this magnificent monument.

Afterwards Aliyev and his entourage visited the military camp, where they met with the troops undergoing training in tactics and strategy. They were interested in the military preparedness, training, and social conditions of the troops. An exchange of views was held with the military experts on ways to eliminate problems linked to the military preparedness. A detailed conversation was held on the progress of mobilization. President Aliyev spoke briefly with Vagif Dzhabarov, who heads a group of volunteers from Lachinskiy Rayon.

The supreme commander Geydar Aliyev met the soldiers and officers here, addressed them, and received their salutes.

A scheduled meeting was held in another military unit. President Geydar Aliyev was interested in the progress of the training of the volunteers. A country that has such sons can never be vanquished. The soldiers took an oath to recover the lost lands and defend Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and sovereignty. The combat spirit of the fighters who are trained in tactics and strategy here was high. The supreme commander Geydar Aliyev addressed the fighters here, too.

During the meeting held between Geydar Aliyev and high-ranking Defense Ministry officials, the formation of the Azerbaijan Army and recruitment of the military specialists were discussed.

Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev addressed the workers gathered in front of the Ganja City executive administration on the evening of 12 December. Later, an extensive meeting was held at the city executive building with the participation of the ministers, heads of administrations, enterprises, nearby rayon leaders and representatives of the people. Supreme commander Geydar Aliyev also met with the high-ranking officers, law enforcement organs, and personnel at the prosecutor's office.

Geydar Aliyev returned to Baku this morning after completing his two-day visit to Azerbaijan's southwestern regions, Ganja and Basar. Chairman of the National Assembly Rasul Guliyev, Prime Minister Suret Guseynov, and other officials welcomed Aliyev and his entourage at the railway station. Geydar Aliyev spoke with the representatives of the city residents who sincerely welcomed him at Vakhzal Square. [end recording]

New Currency Not Expected To Assist Stability

*PM1312163193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Dec 93 p 1*

[Correspondent Zaur Kadymbekov report under the "Azerbaijan" rubric: "Manat Will Fail To Inspire Hope"]

[Text] Baku—From the New Year, National Bank President G. Agayev has announced, the manat will become the only means of payment in Azerbaijan. The cash situation in the Republic remains strained: Payment of wages and pensions is still being delayed at institutions, enterprises, and savings banks.

Printing money abroad and bringing it into the Republic is not stabilizing the financial situation, since the minimum wage and pension level is constantly rising owing to rampant inflation. There is also plenty of cash settling in commercial structures. From 1 January it is intended to phase in cash registers in private stores in order to establish their exact income and thus levy the appropriate amount of taxation on the owner.

Prices in Azerbaijan have witnessed yet another increase and pulled themselves up to Russian levels: The price of a loaf of bread has risen 750 percent and now stands at 190 rubles [R], a liter of gasoline will set you back R170 rather than R30, and only well-to-do people will be able to afford a bottle of champagne for the New Year—one bottle costs R2,000.

Of course, following the fuel price increase, everything else will "skyrocket"—energy sources and staple foodstuffs. The minimum wage, which has been set at a level equivalent to R9,000 because of the price increases, will not help the needy. Nor will the measures boost the authorities' prestige among the people.

Georgia

Envoy To Restore Ties With Moscow Appointed

*LD1312145093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1414 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi December 13 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze issued a decree on Monday, appointing former vice-president of the Central Georgian Bank Nugzar Pipiya as an extraordinary commissioner of the Georgian head of state in the Russian Federation.

The decree also provides for forming a staff of the commissioner in Moscow. Its task will be to restore economic, financial and credit relations between Georgia and the Russian Federation.

These relations have been fully or nearly fully severed. As a result, Georgia has plunged into a heavy social and economic crisis and is grappling with a huge deficit of the state budget and hyperinflation of national currency.

Russian Servicemen Assaulted in Tbilisi

PM1312144193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Alekseyev and Sergey Prokopenko report: "Georgia: Tanks at Bakeries, Shooting in Streets"]

[Text] Despite the accords reached in Geneva, the situation in Svanetia, where only a week ago Abkhazian armed detachments were purging the territory of the remains of Georgian units conducting guerrilla operations on the territory of the autonomous entity, remains complex. The reason is the concentration of Abkhazian forces in the region, which arouses concern on the Georgian side.

The first 10 days of December added to the alarming statistics of attacks on servicemen of the GRFT [Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus]. Persons unknown robbed Nikulushkin and Maksimov, GRFT Staff officers in Tbilisi. A knife wound was inflicted on Maksimov. Unfortunately, appeals to the Georgian law-enforcement organs have produced no results.

They seem incapable of countering street crime. A bloody drama was recently played out in a store in the center of the Georgian capital. Eight criminals armed with assault rifles pinned the store workers to the floor with indiscriminate fire and started taking goods out of the store. The store manager alone did not lose his head. Taking advantage of a false move by one of the bandits, he grabbed his assault rifle and opened fire on the criminals.

In the prevailing situation the Republic leadership has taken measures to reinforce security at bakeries, elevators, and stores where bread is issued. Tanks have now taken up positions at the gates of bakeries....

French Humanitarian Delegation Arrives in Tbilisi

Shevardnadze, French Minister Meet

LD1312215293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 2035 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze met today with Ms. Lucette Michaux-Chevry, French minister for humanitarian action and human rights. The conversation touched upon the current critical situation in Georgia.

The minister said: Believe me, the French are very much concerned about problems encountered by Georgia today, especially with regard to refugees. Indeed, we have been helping and will continue helping them, but we will soon step up new activities to help them to return to their places

of residence. As for the Abkhazian conflict, the world has learned its real essence, and you are no longer alone. You are supported by the whole world.

I believe that a meeting between the Georgian head of state and the French president will be held very soon. Until then, on behalf of your French friends, I congratulate you on the approaching new year. Let this year bring happiness to you and the people of Georgia.

Shevardnadze thanked the minister for the visit and good wishes. The head of state said: Indeed, our country is in need today, but we do not lose hope. A part of the world like Georgia must not perish. The Georgian people must not become extinct. We have high-level experts in all spheres, and we do hope we will, by all means, overcome the current crisis, especially when countries like France, Germany, the United States of America, and almost all judicious people of the world are at our side at this moment of hardship. Shevardnadze thanked Michaux-Chevry and promised to try to pay a visit to French President Francois Mitterrand.

The meeting was attended by Georgian parliament speaker Vakhtang Gogvadze; Aleksandre Kavsadze, chairman of the Committee for Human Rights and Interethnic Relations; Bernard Fassier, French ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia; and other officials.

Delegation Visits Kutaisi

LD1412112993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] A French delegation of 12 people arrived in Tbilisi yesterday. The delegation is led by the French minister for humanitarian action and human rights, [Lucette] Michaux-Chevry. The three-day working itinerary of the delegation includes many meetings. Meetings were already held yesterday with the head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze; the speaker of parliament, Vakhtang Gogvadze; and the minister of foreign affairs, Aleksandre Chikvaidze.

Together with a member of the humanitarian commission, Nino Uznadze, and the chairman of the Refugee Accommodation Committee, Valeriy Vashakidze, the French delegation is travelling to Kutaisi today, where it will meet people displaced from Abkhazia. From Kutaisi, the guests will be heading for Senaki and Zugdidi.

The delegation delivered humanitarian aid to Georgia which has already been sent to Kutaisi.

Shevardnadze Cites Israeli Fight for Freedom

LD1312151793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Yesterday, 12 December, members of the Tbilisi Jewish public gathered at the Officers' House to mark the Jewish people's holiday, Hanukkah. [passage omitted; background information on Hanukkah]

Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze with his wife, Supreme Council Chairman Vakhtang Gogvadze,

and Tbilisi Mayor Niko Lekishvili came to the Officers' House to congratulate the Jewish people on their national holiday. The participants in the meeting were addressed and congratulated on the holiday by Geno Abramishvili, chairman of the community of Georgian Jews; by Israel's ambassador to Georgia Barukh Birenbaum; writer Guram Batiashvili; and by (Jacob Efremishvili) representative of the Jewish Agency in Georgia.

Speakers thanked the leadership of the Republic for its care for and assistance to Jews. The hope was expressed that despite difficulties, the Georgian people, like the Jews, will achieve the [word indistinct] goal and build a truly free and democratic state.

The audience warmly received Eduard Shevardnadze's speech in which he addressed the Georgian Jews.

Israel has given us an example of how to fight for freedom and independence, the Georgian head of state said. He especially emphasized the unique role of the Jewish people in the development of world civilization. I am proud that for 26 centuries our peoples have lived like the closest friends, said Eduard Shevardnadze.

The head of state, the Supreme Council chairman, and the city mayor were invited to light festival candles.

Optimism in Abkhazia Talks Expressed

LD1312203993 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Jaba Ioseliani, head of a Georgian delegation at the Geneva talks, and Georgian Deputy Foreign Minister Mikheil Ukleba held a news conference yesterday on the

results of the dialogue [with the Abkhaz party]. It was indicated that a significant step has been taken on the way to settling the conflict in Abkhazia. It was also stressed that at the present stage it is very important that each of the eight points of the memorandum signed during the talks be actually implemented.

At present intense work is being carried out on important agreements, like the POW exchange on an "all for all" basis, and creating conditions for the soonest possible return of refugees.

According to Jaba Ioseliani, while preparations for the second round of talks are in progress, it is extremely important that the political status of Abkhazia be defined. A group of experts representing Georgia and Abkhazia as well as the United Nations, the CSCE, and the Russian Federation is setting to work on 15 December on drawing up recommendations on this issue.

Troop Commander Visits Ajaria, Meets Abashidze

LD1412114893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] In order to assess the situation with interior troops, Major-General Vladimir Chikovani, commander of the Interior Troops of the Republic of Georgia, has visited Batumi where he met with Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Ajaria. The commander inspected facilities and talked with officers and personnel of the interior troops subordinate to him. Vladimir Chikovani gave a good appraisal of the interior troops deployed in Ajaria.

Estonia

Laar Says National Taxes Lowest in Europe

WS1312124493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1807 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, December 10—According to the official analysis of the European Bank of Development and Reconstruction (EBRD), Estonia has already the lowest tax burden in Europe both for individuals and corporate bodies, Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar told ETA, on Friday [10 December], calling propositions of oppositionist MPs to lower income tax for corporate bodies to 15 per cent "populistic".

The income tax law, adopted by Riigikogu yesterday, sets the tax burden even below the level of the USA, Laar added. The law prescribes a proportional 26 per cent income tax rate both for individuals and corporate bodies.

Laar said that supporting entrepreneurship and development by means of low and proportional taxes, creates tensions for the state budget, making it difficult for the state to pay the social grants and retirement benefits even at the present level, not to speak of a rise in them, which appears to be unavoidable in the 2nd half of 1994.

Organization To Assist Russians in Repatriating

WS1312124993 Tallinn BNS in English 1601 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 10, BNS—The International Migration Organization plans to help Russians living in the territory of the former Soviet Union repatriate to Russia.

Oystein Opdahl, the head of the organization's new bureau in Helsinki, said the organization was trying to find money for programs to help those people who wish to move back to Russia. Opdahl said the organization's estimates showed there were 5 million-6 million Russians in the former Soviet republics who wanted to repatriate.

Opdahl, during a visit to Estonia, met Estonian Population Minister Peeter Olesk, Foreign Ministry officials and the director general of the Migration Department, Andres Kollist.

Topics discussed at the talks with Kollist included the possibilities of working closely in curbing illegal immigration, assistance for the training of Estonian experts and migration opportunities to other countries, including Argentina, said Kollist.

The International Migration Organization, an independent non-governmental body headquartered in Geneva, has bureaus all over the world. The new bureau in Helsinki takes over dealing with the Baltic region from the organization's Moscow office.

Group Established To Prepare for EC Membership

WS1312125193 Tallinn BNS in English 1601 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 10, BNS—The Estonian Cabinet set up a working party Thursday [9 December] to start work on preparing Estonia's formal application for joining the European Community.

The group, headed by MP Ivar Raig of the Rural Centrist Party, includes more than 20 politicians and experts. Members in the group include parliament's Deputy Speaker Tunne Kelam and a number of MPs, as well as the head of the Foreign Ministry's foreign economic policy department, Priit Kolbre, and Ardo Hansson, adviser of the Cabinet.

The group is expected to present its plan of work early next month.

Prime Minister Mart Laar said a few weeks ago that Estonia should be able to become a member of the EC by the year 2000.

"We will use the Nordic model for becoming a member of the Community. We will first sign a free trade agreement and then apply for full membership at once," Laar said in an interview with the Postimees daily.

The EC attitude toward Estonia's prospects of early membership has been much more tempered.

Weapons Purchases From Israel Total \$59 Million

WS1312124893 Tallinn BNS in English 1601 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 10, BNS—The Estonian parliament's Defense Commission chairman reversed a slight numbers mistake when he said the country's weapons purchase from an Israeli company cost 69 million U.S. dollars.

The guns, bought from the TAAS Israel Industries Ltd, actually cost 59 million dollars, said chairman Rein Helme.

Malle Aleksius, spokeswoman for the Pro Patria faction in the parliament, said Helme had asked to "excuse him for the error".

Helme, speaking before reporters Wednesday [8 December], had wanted to round off the sum to 60 million, but mistakenly went right to 69 million, Aleksius explained.

The sum of 69 million dollars was mentioned on several occasions at Wednesday's press conference. This caused much surprise, as the press so far had been told 59 million dollars. It is still not clear so far why it took Helme two days to correct his mistake; "69 million dollars" went through several headlines and comments in the media.

Human Rights Official Regrets UN Resolution

LD1312143593 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Studio interview with Ants-Enno Lohmus, member of the Human Rights Institute, by announcer Peeter Kaldre on 13 December—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kaldre] Today is the International Day of Human Rights. [passage omitted] Essentially there are certain human rights problems in Estonia, but they do not run along ethnic principles, more the situation in prisons and so on?

[Lohmus] Yes, under no circumstances are human rights problems in the Republic of Estonia linked to the ethnic issue. Very many issues here are linked to the heritage we acquired from the Soviet Union.

[Kaldre] How has your institute reacted to the UN General Assembly resolution adopted this week on the minority situation in Latvia and Estonia?

[Lohmus] It is regrettable that the United Nations bows to the wishes and accusations about human rights violations in Estonia by our big neighbor, Russia. Even though not one international or respected commission that has visited this country has recorded a single incident of human rights violations here, the fact that the matter was discussed at the United Nations is offensive to Estonia.

Party Nominates New Interior Minister

WS1312160293 Tallinn BNS in English 1603 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 11, BNS—The board of the Estonian National Independence Party in a majority vote today ruled to nominate Heiki Arike, deputy chancellor of the Interior Ministry, for the post of the interior minister.

Arike's nomination is to be referred for approval to the prime minister and then, to the council of the ruling coalition. The final approval for the appointment must come from the country's president.

Arike, who is not a member of the National Independence Party, was proposed for the nomination by the party's faction in the parliament Thursday [9 December].

The faction in its statement pointed out Arike's expertise, commitment to the continuation of reforms in the ministry, and "his political views that are close to those of the National Independence Party."

The other issue discussed at today's meeting of the party board was Friday's statement by Transport and Communications Minister Andi Meister. The minister suggested that the party left the ruling coalition.

Meister, minister from the National Independence Party, says the step was due to a decision by the parliament's majority to vote down next year's proposed dotations for postal services and public transport.

Cutting the dotations from the draft state budget for 1994 makes it practically impossible to continue carrying newspapers to subscribers' homes in rural regions and would lift ticket prices of public transport in Tallinn too high for those in the low income class, Meister said.

He said such steps corresponded neither to the ministry's transport and communication policy, nor to the position of the National Independence Party.

Members of the party's parliament faction today found there was no need at the present moment to leave the coalition. They said it would be possible, by working closely with the other coalition members, to restore the postal service dotations before the adoption of the budget.

The National Independence Party board today also elected Viktor Niitsoo as its chairman.

Government Approves Candidate

WS1412121593 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0734 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From 14 December PAEVALEHT, p 3]

[Text] Tuesday, December 14—Prime Minister Mart Laar and the "Fatherland" faction approved the candidacy of Heiki Arike for the post of interior minister yesterday. The other coalition partners had not given their approval but Laar hoped to receive it by this morning, so as to present the candidacy to president Lennart Meri.

The National Independence Party (ERSP) member K Jaak Roosaare held a news conference yesterday to distance himself from the party council decision concerning the candidacy of Arike. He referred to the fact the Arike had been a member of the Communist Party and pointed out his failure to have participated in "political actions for the restoration of independence, or national activities." But Roosaare stressed that he will not oppose the party's choice nor will he resign from the Riigikogu faction. He added that Arike intended to join the ERSP in case he should be appointed.

National Forces Hold Conference in Tartu

WS1312135693 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0852 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From 13 December RAHVA HAAL, p 2]

[Text] Monday, December 13—A conference of patriotic and anti-Communist forces, organised by the Estonian National Party, took place in Tartu on Saturday [11 December]. The purpose of the conference was to find ways of building up the county and preserving the nation, its language and culture.

Juri Estam warned in his opening speech against the invasion of Russian capital. Estonia is defenceless against the Russian capital and mafia but the government is ignoring the threat, he stressed. "The government does not speak about decolonisation any longer, it pretends that the occupation is over, the colonists are granted opportunities to receive citizenship immediately," Estam said.

MP [member of parliament] Kalju Pildvere stressed that "we are still living in the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]" and "the Communists are returning to political and economic power."

The conference was attended by Arnold Rtel, Endel Lippmaa, Enn Tarto and other well-known politicians.

New Chairman Named for Centrist Party Faction

WS1312154793 Tallinn BNS in English 1119 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 10, BNS—Rein Veidemann replaced Arvo Junti Thursday [9 December] as chairman of the Centrist Party faction in the parliament.

The change follows a faction vote. Arvo Haug and Krista Kilvet were elected as deputy leaders of the faction.

Junti declined to comment on the issue, saying the faction had previously agreed to abstain from comments to the press. But he said re-election of the faction leader was a requirement set forth in the faction's working order.

Laboratory To Begin Monitoring Radiation Levels

WS1412122593 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1827 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, December 13—A radiation laboratory and radiation observation network will on December 22 be opened at the Estonian Institute of Meteorology and Hydrology to monitor radiation, the press office of the Estonian Environment Ministry said.

The laboratory, worth two million Swedish kronor, is a gift from the Swedish Radiation Protection Institute and will automatically warn of danger if radiation exceeds natural background three times.

Thus far, Estonia has received radiation data once a day.

Lithuania

Slezevicius, Ministers Hold Press Conference

WS1312160493 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1800 GMT 10 Dec 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 391]

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 9 (ELTA)—On Thursday [9 December] the Premier Adolfas Slezevicius, the Internal Minister Romasis Vaitiekunas and the Industry and Commerce Minister Kazimieras Klimasauskas met with journalists at the House of Government.

Slezevicius told the news conference that he together with the chairmen of Seimas [parliament] committees considered the state budget for 1994. With the increase of incomes for Lithuanian people, the increase of taxes deducted from wages and, thus, the increasing budget revenues can be noticed. More money will be allotted to satisfy the social needs as well as to education and culture. The means for the constructions of state-owned objects will be reduced. This money will be invested in the

construction works of important educational and cultural objects, as for example, in the restoration of the Vilnius castle.

Slezevicius also noted that the question of the oil terminal was considered at the meeting once again. After Russian army had left Lithuania, the sea port in Liepaja became free. Latvia suggested that this port should house oil received from Western countries not only for their own needs, but for Lithuania as well. Latvia did not object that Lithuania should have the controlling block of shares. Moreover, this project would cost Lithuania 50 million U.S. dollars less than building a new terminal. However, the possibility to build the terminal in Butinge was not rejected. Last week saw the selection of several Western firms, which had competed for the right to build the terminal.

Vaitiekunas told the news conference that during 11 months of this year 5200 crimes were committed in Lithuania, that is, 0.7 percent more than last year. The rate of serious crimes increased by 32 percent as compared with the last year. There were more premeditated crimes as well. This year saw the increasing number of disclosed racket cases (last year - 37, this year - 195). It shows that people have gained more confidence in police and the law on prevention.

Klimasauskas told the news conference that Lithuania had reached the lowest point in its economics and the situation would start improving. In July the sale made 172 in August - 194, in October - 273 million litas. The export also increased - the third quarter of this year witnessed bigger sale of production for foreign countries than the whole last year. 40 percent of production was sold in the home market.

Jursenas Receives Ukrainian Delegation

WS1412084493 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 2107 GMT 10 Dec 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 392]

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 10, ELTA—Seimas chairman Ceslovas Jursenas received the head of the commission of foreign affairs of the Ukrainian parliament P. Pavlychko, head of economy reform and management commission V. Pilipchuk and deputy minister of Nationalities and Migration Affairs V. Kravchenko. They spent two days in Vilnius.

Pavlychko set forth an attitude of Ukrainian parliament towards the prospects of political-strategic alliance among the countries of Baltic and Black sea regions. The alliance could be joined by the Vysehrad states /Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary/, the Baltic states, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Romania, Bulgaria and Moldova.

Pavlychko said the alliance could be a big guarantee of regional security, especially now, when a lot of Russians are thinking the newly independent states are provinces of Russia.

He stressed the European collective security system was not possible without an active participation of Ukraine

which is going to become a non-nuclear state in future. Its strategic and tactical weaponry is being gradually reduced, as not less than 2.5 billion dollars are needed to destroy only strategic weapons. Ukraine has no such amounts of money and the assistance promised by the U.S. is very little, Pavlychko said.

It was noted in the meeting the bigger economical cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania should be sought. There are good preconditions for that after Prime Ministers of both states signed a free-trade agreement earlier this year.

Pavlychko has given over the invitation issued by the leadership of Ukrainian Supreme council to Jursenas to come to their country on an official visit. It could take place until the new parliamentary elections in Ukraine next March [sentence as received].

Delegation Ends Visit

WS1312160993 Tallinn BNS in English 1603 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 11, BNS—An Ukrainian delegation, including the head of the country's parliamentary foreign affairs commission, Dimitro Pavlichko, the head of the commission for economic reform and management, V. Pilipchik, and deputy to the minister of ethnic affairs and migration, V. Kravchenko, ended its visit to the Lithuanian capital Friday [10 December] after a series of meetings with Lithuanian officials.

The visit came at the invitation of Lithuania's parliamentary foreign affairs commission.

The Ukrainian delegation had meetings with members of the Lithuanian parliament's foreign affairs and economics commissions, Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, and Parliament Speaker Ceslovas Jursenas.

Pavlichko in a press briefing said he had informed the members of Lithuanian parliamentary commissions of the situation in the Ukraine after Russia increased its political and economic pressure on the country. He also spoke of an idea to set up a stability zone of the countries on Black Sea and the Baltic countries. The Ukraine and Lithuania have also plans to draw up and sign a cooperation agreement and call a summit of the heads of state.

Gylys, Envoy Sign Economic Trade Agreement

WS1312153293 Vilnius ELTA in Lithuanian 1826 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, 10 Dec—On Thursday (9 December), an "Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation Between the Government of Lithuania and the Government of Australia" was signed in Vilnius by Lithuanian Foreign Minister P. Gylys and John Robson Burgess,

Australian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Lithuania.

The Australian ambassador said that this agreement will help expand economic ties between both states. The largest share of Australian exports to Lithuania accounts for wool and its products.

In the ambassador's opinion, the exports of other commodities will also increase after the conclusion of this agreement. Australia, in cooperation with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is also assisting in restructuring Lithuania's wool industry, and examining the possibilities of investing into it and setting up joint ventures.

Ambassador Presents Credentials to Clinton

WS1312154493 Tallinn BNS in English 1119 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 10, BNS—Alfonas Eidintas, Lithuanian ambassador to the United States, presented his credentials Thursday [9 December] to U.S. President Bill Clinton.

In a short conversation after the official ceremony, Clinton recalled his meeting with the Baltic president's in the United Nations this fall and expressed his satisfaction with the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania's territory, the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry reported.

Eidintas conveyed greetings from Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas and expressed gratitude to the United States for its great contribution to Lithuania's freedom and independence.

Eidintas also presented letters on the recall of his predecessor Stasys Lozoraitis.

Election Reporters Detained in Kaliningrad

WS1312153393 Vilnius ELTA in Lithuanian 1826 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] On 8 December, Lithuanian free-lance journalist Arturas Zuokas and television cameraman Jonas Dovykaitis were detained in Kaliningrad Oblast and kept in a servicemen's confinement cell for 15 hours.

According to A. Zuokas, they were detained by the order of Novikov, chief of the military base in Gusev.

The journalists were covering the election campaign before the 12 December parliamentary elections in Russia. Pursuing the goal of speaking to officers and soldiers, they applied for permission to the commanders of tank battalion No. 55540. No definite reason for detention was provided. Nor were the reporters allowed to call their fellow-workers and relatives.